

PEDEAGOGICAL ROOM  
FEDERAL LIBRARY  
UNIV. OF MICH.

# AMERICAN TEACHER

## IN THIS ISSUE

Senator Walter F. George

Professor John Dewey

Mary C. Barker

Dr. Abraham Lefkowitz

E. E. Schwarztrauber

Charles B. Stillman

President Linville



APRIL, 1933

VOLUME XVII No. 4

ORGAN OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS

We stand for no curtailment of public education.

We stand for a two thousand dollar minimum for teachers.

## Announcement

Teachers in the public schools, normals, colleges and universities who desire to have

### THE UNION MOVEMENT AMONG TEACHERS

explained at institutes, regular association meetings, or special meetings called for the purpose should write to

## American Federation of Teachers

HENRY R. LINVILLE,  
President  
70 Fifth Ave.  
New York, N. Y.

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON,  
Secretary-Treasurer  
506 S. Wabash Ave.  
Chicago, Ill.

While some teachers may not be worth two thousand dollars, every child is worth at least a two thousand dollar teacher.

## The H. G. ADAIR PRINTING CO.

A. R. BALFANZ, President  
W. T. FISHER, Treasurer

### CONSTRUCTIVE PRINTERS

Telephones:  
FRANKlin 8124-5-6

107 No. Wacker Drive, Chicago

## Table of Contents

	Page		Page
Come Out of the Classroom, Teacher.....	3	Thrift Can Go Too Far	
The Teachers Must Help Save the Schools.....		"Depression Will Aid the Schools"	
.....Senator Walter F. George	4	Blind and Dumb	
The Crisis in Education.....Professor John Dewey	5	Tenure in California	
Financial Fascism.....Charles B. Stillman	10	Pennsylvania Labor Speaks for the Schools.....	20
The Tax Reduction Hysteria.....E. E. Schwarzenberger	12	The Saturday Evening Post.....	20
The President's Page.....	15	The Citizens' Conference on the Crisis in Education.....	21
Editorials .....	16	Schools and the A. F. of L. Convention.....	22
Who Are Your Friends?		Education or Catastrophe.....	24
Educational Association "Investigated"		Books .....	26
Must Education Alone Pay?		News from the Field.....	29

PUBLISHED bi-monthly by the American Federation of Teachers, 506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill. Entered as second class matter October 27, 1926, at the post office of Chicago, Ill., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Acceptance for mailing at special rate of postage provided for in Sec. 1103, Act of Feb. 28, 1925, authorized Nov. 3, 1926.

Editorial Office  
506 South Wabash Ave.,  
Chicago, Illinois.



SUBSCRIPTION \$1.00 for the year—Foreign \$1.10—Single copies, 25c. At the time of expiration, a bill will be found in the copy. Subscribers are requested to give prompt notice of changes of address. Remittances should be made in postal money-order, express order, draft, stamps or check.

## THE AMERICAN TEACHER

VOL. XVII

APRIL, 1933

No. 4

## Come Out of the Classroom, Teacher

**N**EVER has that advice been as timely as it is now. While the teacher is busier than ever with his overcrowded classes, lack of books and equipment and in his attempts to make both ends meet on a reduced salary, the enemies of the public school are busily trying to do away with his job and destroy a large part of the public school system.

The teacher has been too content with letting some one else look after his interests and the interests of the schools. The some one else has been getting by with the job, though not any too well, for the teacher has not given much cooperation.

The school and the teacher have always had enemies, not such open and vociferous enemies who called the public school an expensive luxury consisting mostly of "fads and frills" and the teacher a "tax-eater," but the same enemies who yesterday referred to the teacher as the self sacrificing embodiment of all the virtues and the school as that "bulwark of democracy," but who voted against all increases in school taxes and opposed all physical and curricular extensions of public education. These enemies are the wealthier citizens who do not need the public schools for their own children and are too shortsighted to realize the advantages to themselves of an educated citizenry.

These persons of wealth are in a much stronger position relatively than they have ever been. Although many of them are disconsolate over smaller incomes, by contrast with other social groups which are very nearly insolvent, they have grown great. Through their wealth and their organization, they have control of practically all the facilities by which information is spread to the people. They own the newspapers, magazines, radio broadcasting stations, and other advertising facilities. And are they using them? Read your evening newspaper, look over the Saturday Evening Post, and then turn on the radio. You have your answer.

In a period of economic chaos such as we are passing through, each economic group is bound to suffer. It is entirely natural that each group endeavors to suffer as little as possible and pass on as many depression losses as it can to others. One thing the big business group is trying to pass on is its share of the tax burden. This it is doing in two ways.

First, the substitution of the sales tax for the income tax. The sales tax is a progressive income tax inverted. The progressive income tax collects a progressively higher proportion of the income for taxes as the income increases. The sales tax collects a progressively higher proportion of the income for taxes as the income decreases.

Second, the curtailment of governmental activities for which taxes are raised. The propaganda against government has reached hysterical proportions. Public employees are parasites, taxeaters, and public enemies. No government institution has suffered more than the public school. There are probably several reasons for this. One is undoubtedly because the schools have no strong political organization supporting them. Another that the opponents feel less personal need of the schools than of

the police departments. A third may be that the "best" people genuinely feel that it would not be well for their continued power and influence for the masses of the people to be educated.

The schools have always had friends as well as enemies. These outside friends have done more to establish, maintain, and expand the idea of public education than the educators themselves. True, the ideas have been from the educators, but the power to put them into effect has come from the outside. Who are the friends and why may we not rely upon them at the present time as in the past?

The friends of the public schools are the great masses of the people. They far outnumber the enemies, but they are not as well organized and they do not have the wealth. They do not own the propaganda machine to fight for the schools. They cannot be as effective at the present time as they have been in the past because they have many troubles of their own. Twelve million of them are unemployed and cannot fight for anything except food for themselves and their families. A like number of farmers are, with the exception of the food supply, as destitute as the unemployed. They cannot pay their taxes or their debts. They are about to lose their homes, means of livelihood, and everything they have. How can we expect these people to take the lead in fighting for education, especially if the teachers themselves are not interested enough to join them?

The enemies of the schools are magnificently organized. The manufacturer, the great merchant, wholesaler, all have organizations of their occupations. Then they have organizations of organizations, topped off by the United States Chamber of Commerce, which is on record favoring the curtailment of education all along the line—lower salaries, shorter school year, elimination of valuable courses of instruction, closing of kindergartens, tuition for secondary education, increase in class size, etc. This organization influences hundreds of organizations, which include practically every business organization in the United States.

The largest economic organization in the United States has always been a staunch friend of the public school and the teacher of the public school. That organization is the American Federation of Labor. From its beginning more than fifty years ago, it has had an educational program second to no organization, purely educational or otherwise. At its last convention, a few months ago, it declared for no curtailment but rather extension of public education during the depression because the need for education is greater during a depression. It declared for no cuts in salaries for teachers.

The American Federation of Labor consists of various craft organizations of wage earners, including teachers. The great mass of the teachers have not seen fit to join the organization of classroom teachers which is affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Teachers are wage earners, and of the purest type. They do not own the equipment or the tools with which they work. As individuals, they have no control over the

(Turn to bottom of page 4)



# The Teachers Must Help Save the Schools

Senator Walter F. George

**Editor's Note:** Senator Walter F. George of Georgia who has contributed this article for us is the sponsor of the George Bill through which the schools of the nation hope to get some relief. The George Bill would authorize the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to lend money to states and municipalities, and the properly constituted school authorities for the maintenance of the public schools. It would extend to public enterprise the privilege now held by private business. The teachers are pleased that the sponsor of this bill is Senator George. We know that we can trust him. We rely on his intelligent grasp of the subject; we have faith in his ability. A man who has by merit and honesty won the respect of his colleagues in both parties, Senator George will, we are confident, secure the passage during the special session of Congress of his school relief bill.

**T**HE teachers have an immediate and vital interest in the schools, a broad social interest, as well as an intimate economic interest. To analyze either of these interests for a highly professional body of educators such as the American Federation of Teachers is obviously unnecessary, but to focus the attention of this body on the political philosophy and the political practices, broadly speaking, of our government in serving the social and economic interests of our people, is highly pertinent.

First of all, teachers are citizens; not simply in a technical legal sense, but in a broad social sense. Good citizenship demands a sensitive responsibility to the community needs. This responsibility to be properly discharged requires that they in whom it reposes develop a truly social concept of regulated freedom. The well-organized democratic state then must afford to its citizens that training through which there is to be developed the highest social ideals. In America we recognize the free public school as the medium through which good citizenship in its finest sense is to be developed.

The economic depression is threatening the very existence of our free public schools. Hence the immediate and pressing problem confronting you and me, as citizens, is the preservation of our schools. Local communities simply can not meet their financial and social obligations. As a result the very institutions on which we have prided ourselves are passing. It is no longer simply a question of what will happen; it has already become a matter of what has happened. You know the facts so far as the schools are concerned. Hundreds of schools have closed; thousands more are closing; the school year is being shortened; essential and vital parts of the school system are being eliminated; classes have been so enlarged that teaching has been devitalized and mechanized. That the problem is serious is not debatable; that the results incident to the closing of the schools are bound to have a tragic effect on the children and on the community is obviously a fact.

## Come Out of the Classroom, Teacher

(Continued from page 3)

conditions under which they work or the salaries they receive. There is no logical reason why the teachers should not be organized as are other skilled workers. Furthermore, they should all be affiliated with the great federation of workers. This is particularly true when that federation is the natural friend and ally of the public school.

The enemies of the public school system, the owners of big business, have shown clearly where they stand. Organized labor shows where it is standing, as it has always stood. The public school system of America, in

The only question open to debate is, if the problem is purely a local one or if it is one which properly concerns the federal government also. To me the answer is clear. We are confronted with an emergency. The states simply cannot meet their obligations. Hence the nation must act. Act, not by taking anything from any one of the states, but by giving to them in this crisis. The federal government must minister to the needs of its people, and yet must preserve the political autonomy of the states. That the administration of educational laws is distinctly a state function is not to be disputed. Least of all by me. However, I feel that there is a definite distinction between a piece of legislation which would take from the states any power, rights, or privileges which they now possess, and a law which would further enrich the opportunities of a state. I fail to see wherein the extension of the credit of the United States to any state robs that state of any of its inherent powers or privileges. On the contrary, it is the state which gains directly, the federal government being only incidentally benefited insofar as it has an interest in the welfare of all the people of all the states.

It is my belief that our dual system of government is to a great degree predicated on the fact that the federal government has not only the right, but that it has a duty, to give aid to any one of the states during any serious emergency. It has in fact been the policy and the practice of our government to render succor to any state or any city at a time of great need or peril. Surely the threatened collapse of the public school system presents a peril. The future of our children is at stake.

It is my firm belief that the purpose of government is to serve those who institute and constitute it. "We the people of the United States" are the government; we, the people, are determined "to promote the general welfare." The credit of the United States is sound in spite of the heavy indebtedness with which our government is burdened. That credit must be extended to the states, to the people, in the interest of the promotion of true popular government. To that end I have sponsored the relief bill for the public schools as one of several forms of relief now sorely needed.

I rejoice in the hearty interest and active support which the American Federation of Teachers has manifested in the promotion of a philosophy of government such as I have here enunciated, government within the true purpose of our Constitution, government in the interest of all of our people.

this crisis, needs every friend it has, and needs them organized in the most effective way to fight for free education.

Teachers, come out of the classroom and fight for that classroom.

"Education has thus now become the chief problem of the world, its one holy cause. The nations that see this will survive, and those that fail to do so will slowly perish. . . . There must be re-education of the will and of the heart as well as of the intellect, and the ideals of service must supplant those of selfishness and greed. Nothing else can save us."



# The Crisis in Education

Professor John Dewey

**M**R. CHAIRMAN, Friends, Fellow Teachers: It is always an inestimable pleasure to me to meet with a group of fellow teachers. Whatever I have done or tried to do in life, the thing that I prize the most of all is the fact that I have been for many years—more years than perhaps I would want to admit—a teacher, and it is a particular pleasure to me that I am speaking to a body of teachers under the auspices of the local union of the American Federation of Teachers, for in my career as a teacher there is nothing which I prize more than the fact that ever since there has been a teachers union in New York City I have been a member of that union and entitled to carry my union card.

## Extra-Legal Committees

The two largest cities in this country, New York and Chicago, have recently witnessed the spectacle of extra-legal bodies arrogating to themselves some such responsibility as is implied in the title "Citizens' Committee," who are dictating civic policies, including matters that directly affect public schools. These committees are composed mostly of bankers, of industrialists, and of real estate dealers, the groups in fact which more than any other special groups in this country have helped bring on the present economic and financial crisis.

According to their own statements, these groups in these cities (typical of what is going on all over the country) intervene in the interest of economy. But how do they conceive of economy? What does economy mean to them? What do they think it is? Is it basic reform of municipal administration in order to cut out waste, graft, unnecessary duplication of units, official favoritism, the sacrifice of public to private interests? Are they attacking this problem of economy in any fundamental way? No, and for one reason, many of these organizations are themselves too closely linked up with the sources of waste, too dependent upon favors dealt to them by politicians to undertake anything so needed and so fundamental. By economy they mean a reduction of wages and of salaries of all persons on the municipal pay roll. Experience all over the country shows that the teaching body of the country is the group of public employees upon whom and against whom this kind of economy is most regularly applied.

## Banker Control

It happened, as I came up this morning, I bought a paper, the *Herald-Tribune*, to read and I found something from an address of Professor Goldrick of the Department of Public Administration of Columbia University, an address to the bankers themselves in their state convention. The heading is "Bankers Told They Shirk City Responsibility." Here you have an authority in the field of public administration, talking to an audience of bankers, and using more definite and harsh words than I have used. He shows how all the economy measures have been pointed in the direction of reduction of salaries of public employees, and that this fact means still greater deflation of the purchasing power of the community, actually damaging the economic condi-

tion of the city itself, certain to be reflected in the general volume of business, and likely to be reflected even in rents. And furthermore this group did not accompany the demand with one for a balanced budget. They did not show any way a balanced budget could be brought about. They asked merely and wholly for a reduction of expenses. The speaker ends by saying, "The banks are the most important agency for control under our present arrangement. This is not an opportunity but a responsibility. It is a responsibility to be exercised with consideration of the best interests of the investing and general public. There is little room for pride in the way these responsibilities were exercised in the last decade. I think we can confidently predict that if the bankers do not show that they are now prepared to act with a greater regard to general well-being in the next decade, they will be superseded by some other form of social control." Those are the words of an expert in the field from the standpoint of his expert knowledge, not of a radical or a sensational speaker.

I shall not here go into the question of whether or not further deflation of salaries and wages with its corresponding reduction of an already depleted purchasing power is any way to get out of the present crisis. I content myself with recording the practically unanimous conclusion of the economists of the country to the contrary. I do point out that this organized drive against the public school system of the country, typified in the action of representatives of concentrated wealth in the two largest cities of the country, and being taken up all over the country is against the public welfare and that it comes from those who have the least amount of personal concern with public education. Their children for the most part do not attend the public schools. The cultural life of their own families would hardly suffer at all if public schools should be completely closed instead of as at present having their activities curtailed. They are the ones who have steadily fought from the start all enrichment of the curriculum, calling art, music, physical education, handicrafts, etc.—the things which they demand as a matter of course for their own children, in their own homes—fads and frills when they are to be made a part of the educational facilities for the poor and for the masses. Their plea for economy is part of their effort to protect the tax bills of the concentrated wealth of the country, the element which is most able to pay taxes, and moreover the element which has profited the most, both directly and indirectly, from the results of the spread of knowledge and skill through our public school system of education.

It is slight wonder that an ex-president of the American Federation of Teachers at a public meeting in Chicago asked whether this movement was not one, "under cover of the depression, ruthlessly to slash selected public services and costs in the interest of the big taxpayers with little regard for the needs of the masses of the people and their children." It is no wonder that he protested against "surrendering the control of the school to organized large tax payers who are not dependent upon the public schools for an education of their children as the mass of the people are." It is no cause for surprise that the legislative representative of the New York Teachers Union, a part of the American Federation of

Address before Yale Local No. 204 of The American Federation of Teachers and The New Haven Teachers Association, at Hotel Taft, New Haven, January 29, 1933.

Teachers, pointed out in a public address recently that twenty-one of the fifty-one directors of the so-called Citizens' Budget Commission of the City of New York are affiliated with the twenty-five leading banks of the city, and that a large part of the others are representatives of the speculative real estate agencies of the city, and showed that their policy regarding cuts in salaries of public servants, which came before the special session of the legislature in Albany recently, was dictated and controlled by the heads of the two biggest banks of New York City and of the nation. And he went on to show that the average rate of dividends declared by these banks last year has been 20%, some of them running to 60%. These bankers are holding up New York City for the money they loan for five times the rate of interest which they are charging the Federal Government. He then went on to raise the question whether we are already in process of having a dictatorship of banking and financial interests superimposed upon the nominal government of this country.

Again returning to what the first speaker to whom I referred said. He said that in view of the concentrated attack upon public education in many places, "a nationwide conspiracy against the public schools is not too strong a description of the facts."

We are a tolerant and a good-humored people in this country. Certainly the mass of the teaching body is, and I suppose there are many who will regard this statement as too strong and will hesitate to endorse it. Incidentally, I should like to call attention to the leading article in the issue of the Saturday Evening Post, which bears the date of the meeting here today, January 28. I hate to advertise this because I am afraid somebody will go out and buy the Post, and I would much rather urge something in quite the opposite direction.

The social and economic position of this writer and the general humaneness of his point of view are sufficiently indicated by the fact that he states that the income tax is communistic and is the beginning of communism in this country, and then goes on to say that taxes ought to be levied per capita irrespective of difference of income and not per dollar on the dollars of the taxpayers. But he then goes on—and this is the thing in which I am particularly interested—and picks out the public schools of the country and the wages of the public schools teachers as the chief topic in his plea for reduced taxation. The entire tone of the article is to create the feeling that the public school teacher is a pampered, petted creature living at the expense of the hard working and hard pressed tax payers. This is one of the many points where a group representing large financial interests—you have already heard about the United States Chamber of Commerce—is already organizing a campaign, using the depression not in order to secure legitimate and desirable changes in the internal workings and administration of a government devoted in undue measure to serving privilege not to secure a new method of tax revision in the whole system and method of taxation, but to make public servants and especially school teachers the goat. The very same persons who on every other occasion deprecate every reference to "classes" as an effort to create discord among our citizens are now deliberately appealing to envy and jealousy in order to carry through a so-called economy which in fact is only reduction of wages in the interest of big taxpayers—that element of society best able to stand the burden of taxation.

As the campaign is already actively waging and week by week is going to become more acute, teachers should

not permit themselves to be put on the defensive. They should be in possession of the facts and be active in making these facts known. I am not going to apologize for presenting some of these facts even in statistical form, although figures are not very interesting nor easy to listen to and carry in the mind. These facts all come from the most efficient and authoritative sources that are available.

### Teachers' Salaries

In the first place, the total amount raised by taxes for school purposes in this country has never been more than four per cent of the total annual income of the country. 1930 is the last date for which figures are available. It was then three and one-third per cent of the total national income. Because of the depreciation of income since then the ratio has now probably become somewhat larger. As for salaries, there are large sections of the country, located for the most part in the southeastern section, in which the average rural and elementary school teacher's salary is less than \$621 per year. The average salary in what is in the total probably the largest single group of sections scattered over the country is less than \$787 a year, that is of the elementary and rural groups. There is a portion, about as large roughly speaking as the lowest section, situated mainly in the states just across the Mississippi in which the salaries of this group are between \$788 and \$952. There is another group, mainly in New York and New England in the east and in the Rocky Mountain states in the west, where the average salary is between \$953 and \$1167, and there is a portion, including Connecticut, New Jersey, and parts of New York in the east and California, Nevada, Arizona, parts of Wyoming and Washington State in the west in which the salary of this group averages over \$1167.

These figures are taken from the report of the committee authorized first by Congress with an appropriation from Congress; then, during the economy drive, the appropriation was not continued and the General Education Board financed the continuation of the study. A group of experts, college men, and men not merely in education but in public finance and business men, conducted a survey that was extended into every county of every state in the United States. This map, which may be obtained by addressing the American Council of Education in Washington or by addressing the Bureau of Educational Service, Teachers College, New York City, shows by the different markings these five groups and their distribution. Teachers ought to be in possession of these facts and this graphic presentation of them.

It is doubtless significant that the author of the Saturday Evening Post article picked out one of the states where teachers are paid the highest rates, namely New Jersey, as an example of how petted and pampered the school teacher is and how he is fattened at the expense of the tax payer. Anybody who thinks that from \$3 to \$4 a day, which is the average in the rural and elementary school, is an adequate wage in the richest country of the world, is a wage that will call educated men and women to the teaching profession and hold them there, that it is a wage which will enable the teachers to care for the education of their own children and maintain a decent status in the community, is past all argument.

### Comparative School Costs

Of the total amount of money raised by taxation in the entire country, federal, state and local, for all purposes, a little less than one-fifth goes to the public



schools. I think we would all agree that the part that goes to the public schools is the part which the ordinary tax payer pays most willingly, and yet of the whole tax bill of the country only one-fifth goes to the support of the public school system. This is slightly less than the total amount spent for redemption of and interest on debts of the branches of government in this country. It is only one-fifth of the amount which the American people spend annually for the purchase and upkeep of automobiles; more than one-third more than the whole tax paid for the school bill of the country goes to the purchase of premiums on life insurance. It is less than half of the annual bill that is spent for physical construction, the construction of buildings; and again I think that the American people will agree that the building of the youth and citizenship of the country approaches in importance the building of skyscrapers, or of highways, etc.

For one I do not believe that the average American citizen, parent and tax payer, wants to see the gains which have been made eliminated. The task is to make the people of the country realize the facts amid the cloud of misrepresentation, of the screen of poison gas which is emitted from selfish quarters. One of the stock items in the concerted attack upon the public school and the school teacher is the rise in the total cost of education. There is no doubt about this rise. There has been an increase of a little over 300% since 1914—just before the war. Statistical study by economic experts, whose figures have not been challenged, shows, however, that over 48% of this increase, almost one-half that is, is due to the depreciation of the purchasing power of the dollar. During the war and for years afterwards teachers' wages remained practically stationary, while the cost of living increased, as we know, enormously. During the twenties hard work secured, at least in the more prosperous and enlightened parts of the country, a definite gross increase in salaries, but by 1930 the salary measured in purchasing power was hardly equal to that of 1914.

In the second place there has been a very great increase in school attendance since 1914, a total increase of a little over one-third in the number of those to whom schools are required to give instruction. In addition attendance has become much more regular and the school year up to 1930 was lengthened so that from these two causes there was an actual increase of school days of 60%. In this increase of student attendance, much the greater part took place in the more expensive part of the school system, the high school. In these 16 years the number of high school students increased from 1,200,000 to 4,300,000, a marvelous increase unprecedented in the whole history of education, of 261%; while the days of schooling in high schools increased 340%. These various increases take care of 27% more of the increase in school expenses, the two items together, 75%. This leaves about one-quarter of the total amount of the increase chargeable to extension in the quantity and quality of service rendered by the public school in the years between 1914 and 1930. Let the reactionaries, especially those who do not utilize in any way the service of the public school system or believe in the service of the public school teacher for the children, do their clamoring for the elimination of these improvements. Again I cannot believe that the American public, if the facts can be got before them, will support this campaign.

#### Breakdown of School System

This is one side of the picture—that which most intelligent people will regard as the bright side of the

picture—in this increase of the number going to school and of school facilities. This is the bright side, I say, in spite of the efforts of the hired Hessians of big financial interests to make American people ashamed of what they have done for public education in the United States. There was a dark side, even before the depression came on. I will quote again from the findings of this official committee, headed by Professor Paul Mort. According to this report, nine and one-half million American children, about 40% of those in schools, are deprived of essential schooling because of a breakdown in the traditional methods of financing the schools. It is not surprising perhaps that this committee, which has studied the matter impartially, does not follow the chorus of bankers and industrialists and financiers in urging that the support of the schools be cut down still further. It deals with causes, not with effects. It states "that drastic tax revision in virtually all of the 48 states is indicated by the survey as immediately necessary if the poorer local communities are to be relieved of present crushing burdens and if a minimum program of care and education is to be set up for the children of those communities." We are not questioning the need of revision of methods of taxation and distribution of taxation. We are pleading for going back to the causes to get real economy in these ways instead of beginning merely by slashing. What is needed is the revision of the methods of the tax system itself, not merely reduction of wages—a revision which is imperative if bad conditions are not to grow worse.

It is difficult to secure up to date figures as to the exact effect of the depression upon the schools, but between the report of this committee and that of the Citizens' Conference on the Crisis in Education called by President Hoover, presided over by Secretary Wilbur, we have the beginnings of the facts. The Mort Committee reports that "thousands of communities throughout the country find themselves unable, under present methods of taxation, to make even elemental provision for the care and education of their children and youth. Scores of thousands of youth of high school age are wandering through the country; an even larger number, including hosts of younger children are suffering from malnutrition and inadequate care in both rural and urban sections. So serious are the dangers to American children that immediate steps should be taken by state legislatures to prevent the deepening of the disaster." These are not statements from radicals or sensationalists but from an official body of investigating experts. And the answer of the self-constituted extra-legal bodies who have taken it upon themselves to regulate civic finance is to reduce school facilities and school expenses still more!

#### Conference on the Crisis in Education

The title of the conference called by President Hoover is also significant. It is a Conference on the Crisis in Education. The title is sufficiently striking in itself to save one from being called upon to be sensational in what he says about the menace to public education. Secretary Wilbur who presided at the conference and who has not been accused either of radicalism or sensationalism, closed the conference by saying, "If you are going to pay school teachers, you have got to get the money, and that money now is going to be sought for from a dozen sources. So we must take an aggressive attitude for the schools if we are going to see our children through. It is not a matter of passing resolutions; it is a matter of fighting, and there is no better thing to fight for than the American school child, and I want



to leave with you as you go that challenge. Fight through for these American school children. Fight the highways, fight the politicians, fight all the groups—it's worth while." That from Secretary Wilbur regarding the present crisis.

To the honor of President Hoover, not only for calling the meeting but for what he said when he opened the Conference, let it be recorded that he stated, "Our Nation faces the acute responsibility of providing a right of way for the American child. In spite of economic, social, and governmental difficulties, our future citizenry must be built up now." The contrast between building it up and cutting down the school facilities of the country need not be dwelt upon here.

The Conference itself brought out clearly the reason for calling the present situation a crisis. The agenda prepared in advance called attention to the fact the situation might be put in four words: "Increasing responsibilities, decreasing resources." The depression has actually led to an increase in school enrollment and the schools have many problems to meet due to the effect of unemployment on home life. Teachers are themselves voluntarily supplying clothes and at least one free meal a day to children. The public school teachers of New York have given, according to official records, over two million and a quarter dollars out of their salaries to relief funds in the city of New York, and we may safely challenge every group in the community to show a record of voluntary service in the present crisis equal of that of the teaching group in the public schools.

But the schools are having to deal with this situation with reduced funds. School revenues last year were cut down at least six per cent throughout the country, and there is no doubt the reduction will be much greater when the returns for the current year are in. In some large cities even last year reductions ran to 25% and 30%. Teachers' salaries were reduced to a slightly less extent. In city school systems it amounted however to 10% and over. In one state of the Union the wage of the rural school teacher has declined 40% in three years, and in three other states it amounts to 25% for the same time. Capital outlay, that for grounds, buildings, equipment, went down in the cities which reported 28% year before last and 40% last year, evidently at the expense of increase in school population. In other words buildings are not being kept up, equipment is not being provided to meet even the normal increase in the schools. To meet the decrease in funds, the size of classes, already too large per teacher, which teachers organizations have been working to cut down, have been increased; many teachers have been dismissed; graduates of training and normal schools, trained to go into teaching, are put upon the waiting list (New York City alone is said to have 5,000 such persons); the length of the school year is cut, in some cases by a month or more; some schools have been closed entirely and a larger number threatened with having to shut their doors; in many places payment of salaries is long in arrears; and, as already indicated, building activities have been arrested and needed repairs postponed, while many schools are reported operating with an abnormal lack of equipment.

In many respects the curtailment and impoverishment of the curriculum, the elimination of important modes of service, are even more serious than the points mentioned. Art and manual training, home economics and physical training, are crippled; special classes for crippled and backward children are eliminated; night classes and evening schools are dropped; many cities have given

up kindergarten and sub-primary classes. In New York City, the richest city in the world, there has been curtailment of continuation classes, playground facilities, and provision for adult education, in addition to other eliminations. It is not exaggerating to say that the enrichment of educational services, which is the outstanding gain of American public education during the last forty years, is today seriously and fundamentally threatened. There is no doubt about the reality of the crisis and it is foolish for both teachers and the public interested in the public schools to conceal from themselves the seriousness of the condition.

### Meeting the Crisis

And yet once more, the sole method of meeting the crisis which is put forward from powerful sources, probably as things stand today the most powerful in the Nation, backed by an influential press, catered to by politicians who owe their power and often their income to dealings with the invisible government of the country, is to cripple the schools still more. Every single day deliberate efforts are put forth to represent the teacher as a petted and semi-parasitic element in the community, unwilling to share with the rest of the community a fair portion of the burden of the depression. I have read, I think, all of the important utterances made by representatives of the American Federation of Teachers. They all point out the fact to which I called attention earlier, the deliberate false conception of economy which is put forth and is being implanted in the public mind. They have been concrete and definite in suggesting methods by which waste and extravagance could have been eliminated and a system of taxation made more effective and more just. And they have all ended with expressing the willingness of teachers to stand their share of whatever is then shown to be needed after these reforms have been undertaken in good faith. I agree completely with them in saying that if the teaching body yields without a fight to show the difference between true and false economy, without an effort to show up the motives of organized finance, the teachers will not only harm themselves and the cause of education, but will also become the accomplices of politicians in continuing to do business in the old way at the old stand.

Above all, it behooves the teachers in behalf of the community, of the educational function which they serve, and not merely because of their personal interest in a fit wage for what they do—self respecting and honorable as is that motive—to make clear beyond peradventure that public education is not a business carried on for pecuniary profit, that it is not therefore an occupation to be measured by the standards which the bankers and real estate men and the big industrialists seek for themselves in working for personal gain and measuring success and failure by the ledger balance, but that money spent on education is a social investment—an investment in future well being, moral, economic, physical, and intellectual, of the country. Teachers are simply means, agents in this social work. They are performing the most important public duty now performed by any one group in society. Any claims which they can rightfully make are not made in behalf of themselves as private persons, but in behalf of society and the nation. These will be what they are and are not in the future largely because of what is done and not done in this day and generation in the schools of the country.

### How Shall Teachers Meet the Crisis?

Why have I brought coals to Newcastle in calling these familiar facts to the attention of those engaged in

teaching, many of whom are already suffering and likely to suffer more? Fundamentally I have done so for one reason only. As I see it the great question before the teachers is the question of *How*. By what method shall teachers make clear to a confused public, a public deliberately misled by powerful agencies, the rightful claims of public schools in this time of crisis? I know of but one basic answer. It is found in the old saying of Benjamin Franklin, "We must hang together or we will all hang separately." Organization, union, combined and concerted thought and action, is the answer, and the only answer I can see to the adequate solution of the problem of the crisis. There is a militant organization serving as the organ and instrument of this effort already in existence. It is the American Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Some years ago, I wrote a little document which was printed by the Union as to why I was a member of the Union. I am going to take the liberty of quoting briefly from one part of it that bears upon a difficulty (which to my mind is wholly gratuitous) in the minds of many teachers, namely, the affiliation with the American Federation of Labor. That statement was made years before the present depression and it is milder than I should make now. *"Our whole educational system suffers from the divorce between head and hand, between work and books, between action and ideas, a divorce which symbolizes the segregation of teachers from the rest of the workers who form the great mass of the community. If all teachers were within the teachers unions and if they were in active contact with the working men and women of the country and their problems, I am sure more would be done to reform and improve our education and to put into execution the ideas and ideals written about and talked about by progressive educators than by any other one cause whatever, if not more than by all other causes together."*

Then we have the present crisis. I have referred to that conference held in Washington. It is altogether likely, though I cannot prove this statement, that it was first intended to make this conference a further agent of the forces that wish to put through the program of reduction of teachers' salaries and curtailment of the services rendered by the public school. It did not do that. On the whole it came out on the opposite side, and the reason, more than any other, for the position finally taken at Washington was the efforts of the American Federation of Labor, which called into consultation Dr. Linville, the president of the American Federation of Teachers, Mrs. Hanson and others, and got their view of the situation and presented it actively to the meeting. They prepared an emergency program on the crisis in education.

Again I cannot read it all, but I will read part of Labor's statement to emphasize this conflict between the forces of organized labor and of organized finance to show who are our friends and upon whom we shall rely and with whom we shall unite in this present crisis.

"We believe that public welfare demands and should be insistent on standards of education, no curtailment of activities, or employment of teachers of lower standards. That is going on all over the country—curtailment in length of school year, unduly increasing the size of classes, lowering the standard of teachers," etc.

These people are at least sufficiently educated to know there is a difference between cuts in wages and economy. I should like to read: "Cities have had to face the problem of rapidly mounting demands for relief of the un-

employed. There isn't a city in the country that isn't suffering and isn't urging some kind of reduction of expense because of appropriations for relief. Instead of recognizing that responsibility for relief is a government responsibility to be shared by all, nation, state, homes, the major responsibility has been shifted to the local unit."

### Friends of the Public Schools

Now if the teachers organizations, through the American Federation of Teachers, can join the movement to make the federal government do its share, there will be a relief of local funds which will take away a large part of this pressure for the reduction of the salary of the public servants of the community. Get this program of organized labor and contrast it with the program of the representative of the National Manufacturers Association at the Washington conference. Contrast it with the twenty suggestions of the United States Chamber of Commerce, and then ask: Who are the friends of the teachers and of the public school in the present crisis? Are not public school teachers paying too high a price for maintaining a kind of intellectual and social exclusiveness, an academic snobbery, in keeping aloof from any contact with organized labor in this country?

It was through the agency of the American Federation of Teachers that a bill has already been introduced in Congress authorizing the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to make loans to the various units of the country in charge of the schools for school purposes.

Some teachers have the idea that the sole object of a teachers union and the American Federation of Teachers is to protect teachers' wages. I have no apologies to make for that phase. I don't see why any workers should not have an organization to secure a decent living standard. The laborer is worthy of his hire. But the foundations of the teachers unions of the American Federation of Teachers are very much wider and I should like to have you study together the history of unions representing even a minority of teachers, often a small minority, in such cities as Chicago, New York, Minneapolis, Atlanta, and others, to see that they have stood in the van of all movements calculated to improve public education, to introduce the principles and ideals of progressive education into the schools attended by the mass of the children; that they have been the most active instrument there is, not merely in protecting teachers from individual abuse, but in standing against the efforts of politicians to use the public school system for their own purposes. I should like to assure any doubting Thomases on this point that if they investigate the actual records of the unions already in existence they will find good reason to be proud to be associated with the teachers who have already organized and combined in these unions.

In closing I want to say that all of these other teacher organizations are very valuable. They raise the standard of teaching in the field of scholarship and improved methods of teaching. But there is none of them that I know of except the American Federation of Teachers that stands constantly, openly, and aggressively for the realization of the social function of the profession and for raising the moral, the intellectual, and the social level of the profession as a profession on the basis of the social rights and the social responsibilities of the group of teachers as a professional group in the community.



# Financial Fascism

Charles B. Stillman

**T**HE most important developments in the control of the people over their governmental agencies often come quietly and insidiously. This is particularly true during a period of depression when citizens are necessarily engrossed in their own acute private troubles. There recently appeared in a prominent periodical a significant article under the title, "The Taxpayer Takes Charge," by Mr. Fred Sargent, President of the Chicago and Northwestern Railroad, and Chairman of the Citizens' Committee on Public Expenditures. This able article demands careful analysis from the standpoint of the theory and practice of popular government, and of the actual effects of the Committee's activities upon the people and children of Chicago.

No one questions that Mr. Sargent's Committee has taken charge and is in charge. But in the interest of accuracy he should have made his title read, "The Big Taxpayer Takes Charge." When an admittedly self-appointed, extra-legal group "takes charge," the membership of that group becomes a matter of legitimate public interest. The only names vouchsafed the public are the twenty-nine member of the executive committee. Without exception they are representatives of what is known as "big business." There is not a small home owner or citizen-in-ordinary among them. Since they have concentrated a considerable part of their attack on the public schools, it is a pertinent fact that there is scarcely a patron of the public schools among them.

Such facts merely furnish personal background, and alone do not constitute an indictment. Emergencies call for emergency measures. Chicago is in the direct emergency, only partly caused, but greatly intensified by private and public extravagance, waste and graft. Big business and politics have both been guilty on all three counts. This voluntary committee, although not a cross-section of Chicago's citizenship, but exclusively representative of great aggregates of private wealth, had an opportunity to show that in a great civic emergency they could rise above their narrow, selfish individual and group interests, could rise above the short-sighted blundering which has characterized so much of private business management, and give to the city intelligent, devoted service. And they likewise could seize the opportunity under cover of the depression to establish a fascist dictatorship, determined not only and perhaps not chiefly, to eliminate waste and extravagance, but ruthlessly and indiscriminatingly to slash selected public services in the interest of big taxpayers, with little regard for the needs of the masses of the people and their children.

How has the committee risen to its opportunity? Should it be necessary to go behind the obvious fact that the committee through its dictation of tax-levy limits to the various governmental bodies has drastically reduced the tax-bills? Many citizens are so grateful for tax reduction that they do not question the price paid for it, or whether the same relief could have been secured with less injustice and to greater social advantage. But surely even these grateful taxpayers will admit that both the methods and objectives of any extra-legal group usurping the lawful functions of duly elected and appointed officials should be carefully scrutinized.

Men Teachers Union of Chicago, Radio Series, KYW. Every Monday, 7 p.m.

What has been the outstanding method used by the Citizens' Committee? The dictation of a rigorous limitation of the total tax levies of each of the governmental bodies, except for bonds and interest on bonds, which are excluded from the limitations. The Committee does not focus its attention or the public attention on the detection and elimination of waste, but on the indiscriminating blanket reduction of tax bills.

With what weapon does it enforce its dictation of these tax limitations? The only weapon openly avowed is phrased very mildly in Mr. Sargent's article: "Our committee found its power in the genuine eagerness of most of the officials to co-operate plus the fact that the banks had decided that our committee's judgment could be trusted. . . . They (the banks) have shown that they positively will not lend money for any municipal function which does not have our active support." In that quotation, the phrase, "genuine eagerness" invites one to linger, but the crux of the matter lies in Mr. Sargent's frank claim that his committee exercises a veto power over the financing of public functions by the banks. This claim, though privately denied by some bankers, seems verified by the record of the past year, as well as by the number of bank directors on the committee. And since the American people have permitted private banks to become practically the sole custodian of credit for public as well as for private purposes, veto power over the extension of that credit becomes as effective a weapon of dictatorship as would the control of any military force. And note that it is only the negative veto power they exercise. The Committee has not, and does not assure extension of credit to finance reduced public service even when all their demands are met. The bargain runs all one way.

The effectiveness of the weapon of the veto power over financial assistance from the banks has been testified to by statements of public officials who have said in effect, "we are sitting here with a gun in our hands." It was frankly and dramatically illustrated at the public budget hearing of the Board of Education, when a member of the Board said to several hundred representatives of organized parents who were protesting against further school slashes, "You are in the wrong forum. We are the Board of Education, but the Citizens' Committee is determining the extent of our expenditures, and you should be presenting your arguments to them."

Surely power of this arbitrary and absolute character must carry with it commensurate responsibility. But does it? Legally this Citizens' Committee is completely irresponsible. The responsibility for the results of its acts falls solely upon the legally constituted public bodies who do its bidding, though they may be acting under duress. But if legally irresponsible, then certainly the load of moral responsibility must be all the heavier. How have they faced that moral and civic responsibility?

The first test, even more than the degree of total tax slash demanded, would be the allocation to the various public services of such tax revenues as they permitted to be levied. That allocation of public revenues is one of the powers which the American people have guarded most jealously. Such measures must originate in the legislative branch closest to the people. Did the Citizen's Committee base its allocations on the comparative importance of the various public services as shown



by the tax rates authorized by the state legislature, elected by the people? No, even though those rates had been established by the legislature in 1930 on the recommendation of another Citizens' Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Silas Strawn, Mr. Sargent's committee demanded that the Board of Education's legally authorized levy be slashed 33% in contrast to 11% for the city. In addition, while granting the city \$1,600,000 for pension purposes, above its \$50,000,000 limitation, it has so far refused to permit the Board of Education to remove \$1,300,000 for pension purposes from its limitation of \$48,000,000. We are not contending that the city is receiving too much, but why this persistent and cumulative discrimination against the schools?

An obvious reason is that the education of a half million children is inevitably among the most expensive of public services. A possible reason is that they consider the schools more helpless and safer to attack. But a powerful reason is indicated in Mr. Sargent's own words, "first on the list of essentials comes police, fire, and health protection in the order named." And there is nothing following in his article to indicate whether he considers public education a bad fourth or fourteenth. This is in vivid contrast to Governor Horner's statement in his inaugural message that "the first claim upon the funds and concern of the state should be for welfare work and education." The President of the United States just last week included in an address the statement that "in the rigid governmental economies that are requisite everywhere, let us not encroach upon the schools or reduce the opportunity of the child through the school to develop adequate citizenship." And also "the proper care and training of our children is more important than any other process that is carried on by our government." I am giving these quotations not because the teachers desire to claim favored treatment for the schools above all other public service, but they do submit that the schools should be considered among the most essential of such services, and should not be victimized by discrimination.

Mr. Sargent later, in the same article, stresses the payroll of the schools of one million dollars a week during the school year. He fails to mention that that one million dollars a week provides educational opportunities for over a half million children, or \$2.00 per week per pupil. He also does not mention that Chicago ranks nineteenth among the large cities of the country in per capita costs of its schools, and that it ranks first in the excessive pupil load imposed upon its teachers. It might be pertinent to ask whether anyone secures in either public or private expenditures more genuine value received than the community receives for that \$2.00 per week per pupil during the school year. That expenditure is based on a teacher's salary schedule of 1922 which was not increased during the boom period, which has already been slashed during the past year from 10 to 30%, and which, according to all reports, is about to receive an additional slash of from 5 to 20%. That additional slash is to be the teacher's reward for keeping the schools open without payment since the middle of last May at a cost of the loss of thousands of their homes and insurance policies, and of interest charges ranging up to 40%. This additional reduction in salary will be imposed without any payment on long over-due back salaries, and the reduced salary will have to be paid very largely in tax anticipation warrants whose discount would alone constitute a disastrous salary slash. It is made necessary only by the insistence of the representatives of the Citizens' Committee that the loss and

cost of collections of taxes for the years 1928 to 1932 shall be estimated at 11% instead of 10%. This is in no way involved in the pledge of the Board of Education to accept the Citizen's Committee's limitation of the tax levy of 1933 to \$48,000,000, but is an additional demand made after the granting of their original request, apparently after it was found that their original request might not necessitate an additional salary cut. It should be added that the Federal Commission of Education reports that the average cut in teachers' salaries for the country as a whole during the depression has been 15%.

The director of the Citizens' Committee recently made a public admission that the allocation of public funds to the various public functions had not been based on a careful survey of the comparative needs of the various public services. Such a survey would inevitably reveal the tremendously increased load placed upon the schools by the depression as well as the increased importance of the contribution of the schools to social stability and good citizenship during these abnormal times of stress.

No, the crucial test of scientific, disinterested public spirit has not been met in the dictated distribution of revenues. It has rather been again demonstrated that the power to determine the allocation of tax revenue to the various public services is a power the people cannot afford to surrender. And they certainly cannot contemplate surrendering the control of the amount of school revenue to organized large tax payers who are not dependent upon the public schools for the education of their children as the mass of the people are, and who are subjected to the constant pull of their narrow special interests in the matter which lie in a reduction of tax bills for themselves and their corporations.

In view of the record, there are highly significant implications in one of Mr. Sargent's concluding sentences, "since we (the Citizens' Committee) are keeping our minds strictly on the matter of immediate reductions in expenditures we have not yet decided how we shall work out the matter of future control." Future control! Is financial fascism to be permanently in the saddle? How are we teachers to teach civics under present circumstances? Are we to admit that popular government has collapsed, as well as private industry? We are given to understand as teachers that we are further to be offered up as a sacrifice to the financial powers. The schools are easy to attack, though we have found it desperately hard to keep them open through eight long payless months. Do the people, the common people, really want their schools? If they do, they must find a way, and quickly, to let city and school officials and Citizens' Committee know their decision in no uncertain terms.

This article deals primarily with Chicago, but substitute Stone Committee, Tax Payers' League, Municipal Research Bureau, or some similar title of a local citizens' committee for the Sargent Committee of Chicago and the subject matter applies equally well to every American city as to Chicago.—*Editor's Note.*

"There is not an existing institution in the world of civilized humanity which cannot be profoundly modified or altered, or abolished in a generation. There is no form or order of government or of the dominion of force which cannot be removed out of the world within a generation. There is no ideal in conformity with the principles of civilization dreamed of by any dreamer or idealist which cannot be realized within the lifetime of those around him."—Benjamin Kidd.

# The Tax Reduction Hysteria

E. E. Schwarztrauber

**Editor's Note:** The following article, though written with regard to a local situation, should be of interest to readers of *THE AMERICAN TEACHER* because of the recently organized movement in Milwaukee directed against attacks on essential governmental services. This movement, known as the Community Service League, is made up of the educational and social service forces of the city of Milwaukee and all those public spirited citizens of the city who see the dangers inherent in the indiscriminate attacks now being launched by selfish interests upon city government. A counter-offensive, led by the Community Service League, was opened by a mass meeting, Wednesday evening, February 15. Dr. Charles H. Judd, of the Department of Education of the University of Chicago, was the speaker of the evening. A vigorous campaign of education is planned for the coming months and the expectation is that the organization will find a field for permanent functioning. Its purposes as outlined in the preamble to its constitution are as follows:

- 1—To study the conditions surrounding all forms of public service such as the schools, libraries, museums, health and safety agencies, public works, and other social and educational services.
- 2—To place the facts concerning public services before the people, and to promote a better understanding through the dissemination of the facts, of the value of the services rendered by public agencies.
- 3—To make appearances before governmental bodies and civic organizations in support of necessary and valuable public services.
- 4—To study the problems of government with the purpose of making constructive recommendations for desirable changes in the structure and scope of governmental functions.
- 5—To ally itself with or to secure the alliances of any and all organizations that are working for the betterment of public and social services.
- 6—To assist the constituent organizations in meeting the problems which may need attention in their own particular situations and in promoting their general welfare.

**T**HE American public is being stampeded into an attitude toward governmental economy approaching an hysteria comparable to that experienced during the World War. Witch-hunting for pro-Germans, slackers, and bolsheviks of war years has given place to a hue and cry today about public service and servants which threatens to reverse patriotism into a duty to believe that those who cast greatest aspersions upon government, local, state, and national, are the real benefactors of society. The chief danger in such a situation lies in the stupid and irreparable damage which may be done through ill-advised action. The world has been trying, rather feebly, these past fifteen years to repair the damage done during one great hysteria. The return to some degree of sanity has been a slow and painful process. But now, in the midst of an economic catastrophe more serious in its potentialities perhaps than war, sanity again faces dethronement. This time the enemy of the people is not the war system: it is, we are told, a voracious tax-eating monster, our own government, national, state, and local.

That such a picture is being painted, that there is no exaggeration in the above statement, is evident through a perusal of the cartoons in our newspapers the past few months. The damage done today by such cartoons alone, in a poisoning of the public mind is extremely serious in its undermining influence upon the faith of our citizenry in government. Tax reduction may eventually be secured and services of government cut to the bone, but along with an inevitably indiscriminate slashing at government costs that an economy hysteria makes possible, there may develop evils which even the most ardent economy advocates do not anticipate or desire.

For the citizens of Milwaukee who place human and ultimate values above immediate and selfish interests there is, therefore, a service to be rendered in setting down some pertinent facts relative to the present situation. For upon such citizens devolves the responsibility of staying the tide of blind smashing of valuable social institutions. This responsibility they can fulfill only

on the basis of a calm survey of facts. In the following brief outline are therefore presented some matters which, though preliminary in form and needing later and greater amplification, point to rather definite conclusions.

## Sources of Attack on Government and Governmental Costs

It should first be noted that the loudest and most persistent attack on government comes from groups almost entirely of the same color, viz., business interests and entrenched wealth. They group themselves as follows:

### I—NATIONAL (See Milwaukee Journal, Jan. 22, 1933)

#### a—National Organization to Reduce Public Expenditure.

Organized in June, 1932, at Chicago under the auspices of the Chicago Association of Commerce and the Illinois Manufacturing Association with 648 organizations represented, including a score of taxpayers' leagues, grain and trade associations, and local and state chambers of commerce.

#### b—National Economy League.

Established in New York City, July 26, 1932. Director of activities is Rear Admiral Richard E. Byrd, chairman. Directors are Al Smith, Elihu Root, Newton D. Baker, General Pershing, and Admiral Sims.

#### c—National Committee for Economy in Government. Organized during the summer of 1932. Represents some 70 trade associations and organized under the auspices of the National Association of Manufacturers.

#### d—United States Chamber of Commerce with headquarters in Washington, D. C., and representing state and local chambers of commerce.

### II—STATE AND LOCAL

#### a—Wisconsin Taxpayers' Alliance.

Organized early in 1932 and having as its officers, Directors and General Council representatives of business and industrial interests of the state with a sprinkling of lawyers and one lone college president.

#### b—Milwaukee Real Estate Board, Leonard A. Grass, prominent realtor, president.

#### c—Milwaukee Home Owners' Association.

#### d—Milwaukee Building and Loan League.

This organization represents interests heavily involved, as building and loan associations, in mortgages on tax delinquent properties and therefore tempted to a stand for lower taxes as a way of protecting many otherwise insecure investments.

#### e—The Citizens' Bureau, John C. Davis, Director.

An organization, stating as its aim that of being a fact finding body on municipal questions. Its name implies an organization widely representative of all classes. In actual fact its control is vested in officers and trustees of the big business interests of the city.

#### f—The Milwaukee Association of Commerce.

#### g—The Milwaukee Taxpayers' Advisory Council.

Organized early in 1932. Largely through the instrumentality of Leonard A. Grass, it consists of representatives of the five above-mentioned city organizations. Its president, Henry H. Otjen, is a prominent Milwaukee realtor. This organization is the spearhead, with the Real Estate Board for a close-fitting socket, of the shafts thrust at city costs and services.

## Nature of the Attack

With such an array as the above, it is to be expected that property interests would precede in emphasis the human values involved in governmental activities. The attack of all economy organizations is characterized by charges that governmental extravagance is a sort of



drunken sailor spree unparalleled in history. The good public is expected to forget the orgy ending in 1929.

Closely allied with this line of attack is the studied attempt to place the blame of our present depression ills upon increasing taxes and "bureaucratic waste." Insults, Kreugers, and banker betrayals of the people's trust are ignored or discounted.

But most inexcusable and deliberately misleading is the charge that tax money is "money poured into a rat-hole," wasted and gone forever with the tax collector represented as the grasping withered hand of a deadly scourge.

#### Aims of the Attack

There are unquestionably mixed motives in the present attack on governmental costs. An honest alarm at increasing costs is held by many both within the taxpayers' organizations and without. Elimination of actual waste and outworn services all socially-minded citizens desire. The demands of such citizens can result only in good. But the efforts of such a class become submerged by the noise and clamor of that group which holds to subtler aims under the guise of "saving the poor taxpayer." Milwaukee's organizations for tax reduction but reflect, consciously or unconsciously, the purposes striven for nationally. Those purposes are (a) to place the blame for the present depression upon the broad shoulders of government; (b) with general property taxes drying up as sources of revenue, to demand reductions thereon in order to forestall the logical shifting of taxes to incomes and inheritances. (The phrase, "soak the rich," implies the fear inherent in the uneasy minds of protected privilege); (c) to stop extension of government services. A few years ago the common slogan of chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, etc., was "less government in business, more business in government." To the layman suffering keenly the wiping out of savings in banks, in Insull stocks, or smarting under high costs of public utility services, the slogan was not convincing. A change in slogan to "cut government costs" was a much more effective one. It directed the layman's resentments into safe channels—for big business. The smoke screen is excellent. If taxes can only be cut enough, governments will have to retire to the bare services of a more primitive day. The game preserves for private interests and private profits will thereby be correspondingly enlarged.

#### Some Facts on Government Costs and Services

Tax reductionists lay great emphasis on tax money *leaving* the citizen's pocket, implying just that much dead loss. Thirty-three cents out of every dollar of the citizen's income, the National Economy League charges, is absorbed by government, national, state, and local. But this completely ignores the obvious fact that tax money *returns*, in fact *must return*, to the citizen's pocket as interest on bonds, or payments for services and supplies.

For instance, in the total budget of the city of Milwaukee for 1933, there are three large items of expenditure, viz., for (a) personal services (salaries and wages); (b) supplies and equipment purchased by school board, city purchasing agent and sewerage commission; (c) fixed charges, principally on bonded indebtedness. The first of these items amounts to a total of \$17,902,422, paid to city employees of which \$4,311,005 goes for police and fire protection and \$8,307,473 for education of our children. The monthly checks to these employees alone are, we can safely assert, not hoarded in the man-

ner of R. F. C. funds to banks but go immediately into circulation in payment of rent, clothing, groceries, gas, electric, telephone, and street car services, and a host of other personal needs. In like manner the purchases of supplies and equipment by the city, running into several millions, afford a potential market to Milwaukee business men for the sale of their products while the last item, that for fixed charges totaling \$6,013,002, is largely absorbed in payments on interest and principal of the city's bonded indebtedness. Milwaukee bankers and bondholders benefit directly in this last item.

At this point it should be noted in passing that city budget cuts of four, five, or six million dollars and similar proportionate cuts in every city, village, and hamlet in the state, duplicated in every state in the union and by state and national governments as well is urged by the "economy" advocates. What will this mean if carried out? Obviously, it will reduce the dangers to entrenched wealth of the imposition of increased income and inheritance taxes. But just as obviously, lower pay checks will be issued since private business itself is doing nothing to increase them. Consequently, less in rents, grocery bills, utility service bills, etc., will be paid and relief demands will grow. Governments will ultimately be forced to increase appropriations for relief and the only source of wealth still remaining saved from increased taxes in the first instance will have to pay for its folly by providing relief in order to forestall dangerous social unrest.

In addition to the advantage of the immediate return of the tax dollar to the pockets of Milwaukee citizens there is the value, not calculable in monetary terms, of the services rendered by these same city employees and departments. Health department employees have reduced the death rate of children from 145 in 1910 to 46 in 1932; they have decreased deaths from typhoid, diphtheria, and tuberculosis, to mention these only, in the same period in the same astonishing degree—in typhoid alone from 45 in 1910 to 0 in 1932. All this has come about through such methods as careful inspection of milk and water supply, inspection of meats and other foods, through clinical service in schools and health centers, through education of mothers in proper health measures in the home, and through numberless other measures.

Teachers, librarians, and museum employees have built up for the city's youth that moral and mental environment which is, in the final analysis, a bulwark against the onslaughts of criminal tendencies. In this depression period all three institutions, the schools, the library, and the museum, with their ally the recreation centers under public management, are crowded with young and old driven by enforced leisure to seek outlets. The alternative is the public dance hall, pool rooms, and other questionable places of entertainment run for private gain. The costs on the one hand are the taxpayers' money invested in character building, or, on the other hand, that same money multiplied many times over (for the United States as a whole, five times), engaged in attempted salvaging of wreckage in juvenile and criminal courts and penal institutions.

The total costs of the above services, plus all those not mentioned but in many respects equally essential in a complex urban community, will be for the year 1933, \$31,483,292. Does the Taxpayers' Advisory Council forget that the costs to Milwaukee citizens for four utility services only, namely, telephone, gas, light and power, and transportation, as estimated by utility officials themselves, totals approximately \$31,000,000? It is apparent



which set of costs is the greater burden to the people yet we hear no suggestion from the Taxpayers' Advisory Council or its affiliated guardians of the people for a reduction of utility rates. It would be a nice mathematical problem to calculate the probable burden if the city returned to private enterprise those functions it has taken over the past half century or more. Fee systems in high schools, fees for use of library books and magazines, fees for use of recreational facilities, abandonment of all school and hospital clinical services of the health department to private practice, and charges for a score of other municipal services to the people would force standards of living for the masses to a costly low level. Yet, despite protestations to the contrary from "cut cost" advocates in Milwaukee, the abandonment of vital municipal functions is inevitable if they have their way. Only families of the upper income groups will escape. The process of reduction in services is already in consummation in an alarming number of American municipalities.

#### Some Sources of Milwaukee's Financial Burden

Milwaukee's present financial difficulties would be considerably reduced, to say the least, but for the following conditions:

##### I—*Permanent improvements benefiting special interests and properties and not yet paid for.*

The Kilbourn Avenue street widening project cost the city \$4,916,361. Because of litigation in the courts the city has been able to recover none of this huge cost though abutting properties have benefited enormously in enhanced values.

In this same project, the city under pressure of realty and vested interests was forced to pay \$740,250 for a 50 foot strip of land on the south side of Kilbourn Avenue at Milwaukee River from the Mariner block, the whole of which had been offered the city by the estate for \$700,000. Had the city been allowed to acquire the block and thus secure the 50 feet for street-widening purposes, it could have sold the remainder for more than the entire original cost.

Furthermore, street improvements such as drainage, sewerage, etc., assessed against properties but not paid for to date amount to a total of \$4,000,000. Part of this total is due to the fact that realtors brought pressure to bear upon the city to improve their new subdivisions which thereafter were placed upon the market in the boom days before 1930. Some of these subdivisions, because of difficult topography, particularly one such as the Grasslyn Manor subdivision, required more than the usual cost in improvements. Today, many of these speculative real estate ventures are as yet mainly vacant lot properties. Much of the \$4,000,000 is tied up in these misplaced ventures.

##### II—*Delinquent taxes.*

To date the tax delinquency in the city approximates some \$12,000,000 of which \$2,000,000 is delinquency on property improvements in subdivisions as discussed above.

Some of Milwaukee's citizens most prominent in demands for tax reduction are among those heavily delinquent, not only for the depression years but also in the boom years before 1930 when income tax records show undoubted ability to pay.

Added to the delinquency due to subdivisions is another 30% of the total \$12,000,000 due to individual home owners. As will be explained later there is every

reason to believe that this type of delinquency has its cause, not in the amount of the tax itself, but in heavy payments home owners must make to avoid mortgage foreclosures. Foreclosure on account of tax delinquency has in no case been practiced by the city.

A study of the tax burden by districts is revealing, particularly as to the real cause for demands for drastic cuts in taxes. The forty-two properties in the city assessed for 1932 taxes at values of \$1,000,000 or more total \$99,690,010. City taxes to be paid by these properties amount to \$2,230,056.22. Properties located on Wisconsin Avenue between the Milwaukee River and 8th Street are assessed at \$22,663,000. On this downtown area city taxes to be paid total \$507,651.20. A \$2.00 additional reduction in the tax rate as the Taxpayers' Advisory Council now demands for next year, would save, for the million dollar properties, assuming present assessed valuation, \$199,380.02; for the Wisconsin Avenue properties which of course include several of the million dollar properties, a saving of \$45,326.00. To take some single instances, the Plankinton Arcade property alone would save \$10,330.00; and the Schroeder Hotel would save \$6,910.00. On the other hand a typical small home assessed at \$5,000, pays to the city this year, \$112.00 and a \$2.00 reduction in the tax rate would mean a saving of only \$10.00. But if the \$2.00 reduction involved private garbage disposal, for instance, twenty-five cents per week would run up a yearly bill of \$13.00. Tax reduction to small home owners means eventually greater costs than savings. The question may well be raised, with whose interests is the Taxpayers' Advisory Council most concerned, vested property interests or small home owners?

#### Summary

America is in the grip of an hysteria fostered, it would seem, by an organized group of business interests who would deflect, if they could, the onus for the present depression from their own shoulders to that of their own governments, national, state, and local. By this method, skillfully employing every means of propaganda at their disposal, they hope to accomplish a double purpose, namely, escape from retribution for their reckless betrayal of the people's trust during the past years and elimination of the government as an agency for wider social service to the people.

A calm survey of the facts will reveal that the smoke screen employed by selfish business interests is making possible the wreckage of valuable social institutions which years of painful effort have built up. People's minds are being turned toward programs of economy presumably in the interests of "the poor taxpayer" though in fact those programs are to prove costly in the end. The real burdens of the individual and the individual's government are in large part the result of victimization by those who would use individuals and governments to their own private selfish ends.

An aroused public conscience is the only safeguard for those lasting values upon which a durable society can build. The task of reconstruction which a great war, a reckless period of speculation, and the ravages of a depression following bring to a people can not be left in the hands of those whose aims are unsocial or lacking in vision. The immediate future calls for the marshalling of all those socially-minded citizens who will challenge the ones crying, "Wolf! wolf!" and who will thus help restore sane thinking and avoid thereby stupid acting.

# The President's Page

Dr. Henry R. Linville

## *What Will Become of Us?*

There is a great stir now among educators. Recalling the warning of Mr. H. G. Wells that we are to witness "a race between Education and Disaster," some of our leaders are getting busy. Meanwhile, economists, social engineers, publicists, politicians and even bankers are beginning to think toward a way out of the tragic situation in which the world finds itself. The process of social thinking is new to most of us, and we are making a good many false starts. We are involved also in much confusion because of the very complexity of the problem. With simple finite minds we undertake a job the range of which is infinitely great.

## *What Comes First?*

For us in the field of education the task of thinking through to the connections of our range of activities and responsibilities to the social problem facing us all is especially difficult. There is a movement under way through which leading educators are informing themselves concerning the nature of the economic and social factors in the world crisis. Intellectual bystanders would say they should have done this before. That is true enough, but we have all been too busy to think.

The examination of the social and economic situation has already led some educators to give their views on what education should do about it all. It seems to me that these early publications betray the element of incompleteness of thinking that is characteristic of much "new" thought. Education has a method and a philosophy of its own, although we may not agree on what they are. Nevertheless, those educators who even temporarily forget their own philosophy to accept another in some other field may start us all to guessing. There are ideas that come to apparent completion in other fields than education. In our study in these other fields, especially in economics, government and in the problems of society in general, the most satisfactory intellectual results come from the effort to tie in and relate social ideas to those that seem to belong more especially to our own field of education. If we did this generally, perhaps we should see less of the manifestation

of enthusiasms among educators, now for this, and now for that.

The application of this method to my sub-topic is that *nothing* comes first, but all must be considered together. If anyone wants to make the point that education itself should involve that kind of thinking, let him have it that way.

## *I Would Even Go Further*

I would go further, perhaps in two parallel lines, side by side, or maybe one above the other.

In the first place, I would say that we in the field of education ought not to limit our thinking to finding out how far other minds have gone in other fields, and then striking a balance that fits in with the intellectual adjustments we may already have made. The "easy chair" or bystander thinkers have done a lot of this. They are a smug, exasperating crew. Even those who regard themselves as liberal may fail to realize that in the fulness of social thinking our minds tend to break down the barriers which previous restricted thinking may have set up. I think that is why fundamental thinking often shows up as radical thinking in personalities that bear none of the trade marks of the kind of person who is termed "radical" by casual observers. Such thinking cannot be restrained by the boundaries established in our political life for those who have to move and vote in crowds. Nor does it yield acceptance to the formulae and the procedures of the existing social order. We cannot suppress this kind of thinking; least of all should we attempt to do so in the field of education. The strongest light we obtain will come from that source.

## *And the Other Line*

We, together with the parents and old Grandma Society, have done our best to shape the children after our own images. We have meant well, but we have done the job with little planning and with no fundamental thinking at all. I am not saying now how the collective "we" should have striven to meet our responsibility, because I don't know. But I do believe we have not done more than to play with the problem. Objectively, we can stand off and see that family life is not up to an ideal mark anywhere. The public school system for

the most part "keeps school," and keeps the children out from under the heels of overwrought parents and out of the streets. What we do for them in the classroom is the best we know, but it is not much. We cannot accept seriously any responsibility for what happens to them after they have grown too big for our teachings and warnings, and have gone in for "success" in business or in crime. If some win applause and emoluments in adult life, we may claim our share of credit, but they may have won what they got anyway. Any educational cad can talk this way, and many do.

## *But What About It?*

There is a superintendent in New York with a background of experience and point of view as conservative as any I know. But this superintendent has been doing some interesting thinking which I believe has fundamental quality. He accepts as valid the claim of educators that the educative process develops intelligence. How much it has succeeded in being effective is not a matter for consideration just now. Intelligence can be developed through education! We are pretty sure of it.

This superintendent insists first of all that we all put our minds on the task of working out the most effective methods of developing the intelligence, especially at the high school age levels, the area with which this superintendent is especially dealing. It is granted, perhaps, that we shall have to remake our conception of what intelligence really is, a process of redefining in which the connotation of the Intelligence Quotient may go by the board.

## *What Would He Have Intelligence Do?*

For a conservative superintendent, I think his idea of what he would have the collective intelligence of our oncoming generations do is the most challenging part of his thinking. He holds that our worries about how to bring about a better social order would disappear when the schools have turned out a really intelligent body of young citizens. They would be intelligent enough to handle the job.

But I want to know what we could do with the hang-over generation that would interfere?



# Democracy in Education

## American Federation of Teachers

Organized April 15, 1916

Affiliated with the American Federation of Labor

506 South Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

*President*

HENRY R. LINVILLE, New York Local 5;  
70 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

*Secretary-Treasurer*

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON, Chicago Local 3;  
506 S. Wabash Ave., Chicago, Ill.

## THE AMERICAN TEACHER

Official Organ

### ADVISORY EDITORIAL BOARD

LUCIE W. ALLEN RUTH GILLETTE HARDY

Chicago Local 3 New York Local 5

MARY C. BARKER HENRY R. LINVILLE

Atlanta Local 89 New York Local 5

SELMA M. BORCHARDT A. D. SHEFFIELD

Washington Local 8 Wellesley College

JOHN M. GRAYBIEL CHARLES B. STILLMAN

San Francisco Local 61 Chicago Local 2

FLORENCE CURTIS HANSON  
Executive Editor

*Publisher*

H. G. ADAIR PRINTING CO.  
107 N. Wacker Drive, Chicago, Ill.



## Educational Association "Investigated"

The House of Representatives of the State of Washington, by an overwhelming vote, recently voted to investigate the Washington Educational Association.

While the motive behind the investigation is perhaps the legislative activity of the Association, one of the charges is that teachers were coerced into joining it by the fear of losing their positions or of not obtaining positions.

There have been many complaints from teachers in all parts of the United States that administrative pressure was used to force their affiliation with one professional organization and to prevent their joining others. It is generally known among teachers that this practice is common in some states, but as far as we know, this is the first time the practice has been so flagrant as to cause legislative action.

In the case referred to there was a further charge that the association was conducted as a "racket" by the executive officers to keep themselves in power.

We advise officers of associations where one hundred per cent memberships are boasted about to follow the course of this investigation.

## Who Are Your Friends? Two Programs—Choose

The United States Chamber of Commerce has sent out to local chambers of commerce twenty suggestions for reduction of school costs. It is significant that the letter of this body of organized business interests referred only to the possible saving in school costs. No mention was made of other governmental expenses, as building of highways, police and fire departments, health departments, city buildings, number of municipal departments, number of local office holders, etc. Only the cost of the schools occupied the attention of this group of super-businessmen.

The twenty recommendations follow:

### Possible Fields of Economy in School Retrenchment

1. Purchase of supplies.
2. Operation of physical plant.
3. Reduction in cost of collecting school funds and of debt service by consolidation and refunding of outstanding indebtedness where possible.
4. Postponement of new capital outlay for buildings and replacements.
5. Transfer supervisors to classrooms.
6. Simplify curricula.
7. Simplify overhead administration and centralize responsibility.
8. Shorten school day one hour.
9. Increase size of classes.
10. Increase teaching hours.
11. Repairs and maintenance of physical plant.
12. Suspend automatic increases of salaries.
13. Reduction in teachers' salaries not to exceed 10%.
14. Shorten school year not to exceed 12%.
15. Discontinue evening classes.
16. Discontinue kindergartens.
17. Reduce elementary school curriculums by consolidation from 8 to 7 years.
18. Reduce high school curriculums by consolidation from 4 to 3 years.
19. Transfer 1/3 of cost of all instruction above high school level from taxpayer to pupil.
20. Impose fee on high school students.

The American Federation of Labor, of whom it has been said that it has a program of liberal progressive education second to none, has also a program for the present crisis. Refusing to be stampeded by the wild cry for economy and the prevailing budgetary hysteria, it repeats its position for the protection of teachers, children, schools, and the nation.

1. Waste and extravagance must be determined by careful study, the responsibility placed where it belongs and no economies which harm the children permitted.
2. No curtailment or elimination of any school activity necessary to maintain and improve educational standards.
3. Raising the top-age of compulsory school attendance.
4. No reduction in teachers' salaries.
5. No increase in the size of classes.
6. No shortening of the school year.
7. No lengthening of the school day.
8. No elimination of valuable subject matter.
9. Free text books for all.
10. Widest extension of the program of adult education.
11. Tenure laws for teachers.
12. Maintenance and improvement of teaching standards.
13. Adequate school buildings adapted to the needs of modern education.
14. Increased revenues to maintain and develop public education. More money for public education, not less. Our complex social order, the complications of our economic system, call for widening the scope and influence of our public schools and require larger instead of restricted appropriations.
15. Equal educational opportunities for all children.

The teachers of America have the two programs from which to choose. It is for them to say where they belong. They cannot stand alone between the two, forever at the cross roads! If they are not with, they are against. They should join where they belong to help forward the program in which they believe.



# Education for Democracy

## Must Education Alone Pay?

The Chase National Bank, under the leadership of Mr. Albert H. Wiggin, the chairman of its board of directors, has inaugurated a nation-wide campaign to deflate wages. Aided by the dominant ideas of an era of scarcity economics as well as by the hysterical cries for economy by those who put profits above national or community welfare, the bankers are forcing budgets to be slashed with little regard for the social consequences of such forced and haphazard economy.

In the midst of the bankers' desperate scramble to restore a decaying capitalism to a semblance of its former vitality, we must ask ourselves whether economy necessarily means curtailment and especially curtailment in education as in business, or whether economy means the fullest and most intelligent utilization of available resources. Mere blind lopping off of budgetary items, mere curtailment of educational activity hardly constitute a wise policy at a time when clear thinking and long range planning are the vital factors in economic recovery.

The first question we face is this: Are the resources of America so scanty that unwise and dangerous economy—as represented by deflation and curtailment—must be pursued? Technocrats tell us that if the material resources of America are harnessed to modern machinery and available man power and then used to capacity, they could produce at least a \$10,000 yearly income for every family in place of the starvation which now faces 30,000,000 of our citizens in the midst of potential plenty. How greatly productive are modern machines is evidenced by the fact that one man and a modern brick machine can produce 400,000 bricks a day as against 450 bricks of a decade or two ago. With such productive possibilities in the offing, even on a five hour day or less, hope and courage rather than despair and timidity should guide our thinking in this crisis.

Sound economic thinking requires an expansion of construction at this time. Nevertheless, if money is lacking or unobtainable, localities may curtail bridge or subway building without serious social damage since, in periods of prosperity, construction may be hastened and the loss regained. However, an interruption of education cannot be made up because the productive educational period

comes at a specified time and cannot be recovered. A curtailment of educational opportunity for the young means an irreparable injury to our future citizens as well as to the society of which they are a part.

Even from a purely narrow business viewpoint, society must not retrench in education. When a business begins to grow, increased expenditures are inevitable. Unlike business, education is not declining. On the contrary, education is expanding at an unprecedented rate and hence educational appropriations must likewise expand rather than be curtailed. Thousands of children and adults, deprived of opportunities to work, have been driven back to school. Take our high schools. Enrollment has increased 99.97% between 1920 and 1930. In New York City alone the high school population more than doubled, jumping from 59,000 to almost 200,000. During the same decade, the public school population between the ages of 5 to 17 years rose from 27.8% to 81.3%.

Not only has school enrollment increased at an unprecedented rate, but each child in school has received 10.8 days more instruction in 1930 than in 1920. Of every 100 children, only 75 attended school in 1920, whereas in 1930 out of every one hundred, 83 attended regularly. In the light of this increase in enrollment, as well as in attendance, why should not educational expenditures increase? Why should not the real problem be the careful scrutinizing of educational expenditures to ascertain if they are being wisely spent? Does not intelligent economy demand that the community must insist upon the fullest possible value for every dollar expended?

Educational appropriations should not be regarded as expenditures to which economy should be applied. On the contrary, educational expenditures should be looked upon as investments that will yield rich dividends to the communities which have the courage to make them. An examination of educational expenditures of states will show the close relationship existing between productivity, wealth, great men of science, art and educational expenditures. Ignorant citizens are not only poor producers of wealth, but limited consumers. So-called fads and frills mean an expansion of wants with a consequent increase in demand and production. Those who, because of the economy hysteria, curtail educational expenditure to eliminate so-called frills are

guilty of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs.

To listen to the bankers and other economy "howlers" one would think that America was wildly extravagant in its educational expenditures. What are the facts? For the education of 26,500,000 pupils, America spends annually less than \$3,000,000,000. An additional two or three cents a day for the voting population finances private education at a small additional cost of \$500,000,000 for 3,500,000 students. This small cost stands between the perpetuation of American democratic ideals and recovery, or dictatorship and failure. When added millions are demanding education, can the schools afford to limit their service? Can we afford to deny educational opportunity when no other socially constructive activity is possible? Shall we let people be gripped by despair? Let those who advocate unwise and unnecessary educational economy weigh well the possible consequences of their folly.

In the State of New York, the outstanding enemies of our public schools are the bankers. At a time when the schools are called upon to render the greatest services to society and should receive the fullest support of socially-minded citizens, our bankers forced an \$80,000,000 reduction in the budget. After that demand had been met, they threatened to throw the city into bankruptcy unless another \$20,000,000 was deducted from city departments and an additional \$20,000,000 from salaries. Of this sum, the teachers are to give \$9,000,000 yearly. To these arbitrary demands of the bankers, both city and state governments yielded.

Were the heads of the National City and Chase National Banks satisfied with the unwise curtailment their acts forced upon the various constructive activities of the respective city departments? No. They and their economy allies—the real estate and utility groups—are demanding an unprecedented reduction in State Aid amounting to \$22,000,000 of which New York City would lose \$10,000,000. Such a reduction in State Aid at this time, will weaken the efforts of the state to equalize educational opportunity and throw an undue burden upon real estate. It will do more. It will necessitate a radical curtailment in or elimination of evening schools, summer schools, continuation schools, playgrounds and recreation centers, and training schools. It will mean increased pupil loads, already dangerously heavy, a curtailment of

needed supplies, and possibly another cut in salaries with its consequent break in teacher morale and total cessation of the relief given to save our children from want.

Those of us who have faith in our country, those who believe that largely through education can we develop a type of citizen prepared to function in a co-operatively planned and managed society, using the findings of technocracy and science for the benefit of all, are determined to resist the unwise economy pressure of the bankers to the utmost.

The power of the bankers to dominate the economic life of the nation, to capitalize human misery, to shift currents of trade, to bring prosperity to one community and misery to another, and even to dictate the details of governmental policy as the Chase National and National City did in New York, must be terminated. Hence we teachers must wage an incessant struggle for the nationalization of credit. Only thus can our local and state governments be liberated from the control of the inefficient, anti-social, power-mad leaders of finance and help the people usher in a planned society dominated by the service rather than the profit ideal.

ABRAHAM LEFKOWITZ.

### *Thrift Can Go Too Far*

All classes of society have suffered loss of income as a result of the great economic crisis which is upon the nation. A few individuals, due to the peculiar nature of their occupations, have been able to reap extra profits. The larger New York banks for instance because of the conditions of the money market have been able to pay higher dividends in 1930, 1931, and 1932 than they were able to pay in the boom year of 1929. They, however, may be compared to the undertakers with whom business is good during an epidemic which paralyzes other forms of business activity.

The reduced collections of income taxes even in the highest levels proves that the wealthiest class has taken losses. The thousands of vacant business buildings in our towns and cities speak eloquently of losses that have come to the small merchant. The millions living from public charity show how the workers have been hit. The plight of the farmers can be imagined from reading the market page and the increased number of mortgage foreclosures.

The depression was a little slower

in reaching the class of workers employed by the governments but these public employees, including teachers, are being reached in no small way now. Loss of position, wage cuts, irregular pay days, and general insecurity have become their lot.

In an almost hysterical effort to save their fortunes intact, the wealthier groups, powerful through their possession of the wealth of the country, their better organization, and their control of information disseminating facilities, may be going too far even for their own good to say nothing of the national welfare.

They have opposed adequate relief measures for the unemployed either by great projects of public work or by appropriations for direct support. They have opposed all measures for the relief of agriculture whether the proposal was one for enough inflation of the currency to make it possible for the farmers to pay their mortgages and other obligations or one for granting the farmers the same subsidy which has long been granted to manufacturers through the protective tariff.

In order to lower their tax payments they have attacked essential governmental activities even those which become even more necessary during times like the present. They are even unwilling to continue to pay the same proportion of the costs of government they have been paying. They are desperately attempting to substitute a sales tax for an income tax, or at least to use a sales tax rather than have the income tax rates increased. The greatest part of the sales tax would be paid by those people with the lowest incomes, those who have been the hardest hit by the depression. A very large part of it would have to be assumed by the millions of unemployed who would receive a little less food. Most of the rest would be met by farmers who are already receiving less than the cost of production for what they are able to sell, and by the workers who are barely making both ends meet with part time employment at less than a living wage.

These wealthy and powerful individuals who resent an increase in their income taxes should remember that a very large part, probably half, of the American people have had all their incomes or, at best, all but enough to give them the barest necessities, destroyed absolutely by the depression. They should remember, also, that in times of great national disasters such as wars, not only all the

property but even the lives of all the citizens are at the disposal of the government. The fact that in past wars the rich have been influential enough in government to force conscription only of lives while property was merely loaned at a good rate of interest does not necessarily mean that this will always be the case.

The owners of great fortunes should not forget that these fortunes were built up because of the comparative prosperity of the masses of the people from which they were drawn. Some of them seem to believe that the people may prosper only because of great masses of wealth concentrated in a few hands. Another case of the cart before the horse logic.

These people, especially when active in their "citizens committees" to reduce public expenditures, should bear in mind that now is a most inopportune time to deprive the people of free public schools, public libraries, parks, playgrounds, and the like. These things have never been so much needed.

And above all, these powerful groups should remember that, after all, they constitute a very small minority and are powerful because of closer and better organization, and that it will be possible for the other groups to organize against them if they go too far, or worse yet, to show resentment in unorganized, unintelligent, extra-legal ways which are more destructive. Incidentally, the actions of certain citizens' committees are no more legal and no less destructive than farmers' groups stopping foreclosure sales or unemployed groups demanding more food.

The people of America are an orderly, patient, and, when necessary, a long suffering people who have not only permitted but have helped to build up many sizable fortunes for the more prosperous citizens. They have no desire to destroy these fortunes or even have them reduced in size unless public welfare demands the reduction. Nor does the average American blame the owner of any property for any decent effort he makes to save it or to increase it. But will they calmly sit by when the owners of great wealth insist on not bearing their fair share of depression losses even to the extent of destroying American agriculture, depressing beyond measure the standard of living of the American working-man and tearing down a most cherished institution, the American Public School?



## "Depression Will Aid the Schools"

Some months ago newspapers carried the head lines, "Depression Will Aid Schools." Probably the eleven superintendents who answered the question, "What dividends are the schools deriving from adversity?" were themselves surprised that such a bold and crass interpretation should have been given to their statements as to what the schools were learning through the depression.

To say that "the schools will weather the crisis and emerge better and stronger for the experience" is to speak with as much wisdom and truth as would characterize a statement that the world in general, society at large, would be better and stronger for the experience of the depression.

This is not exactly the same idea perhaps which the pastor of a large city church enunciated last winter when he said that the suffering incident to the depression was a good thing because it gave the more fortunate people an opportunity to exercise the Christian (?) graces of charity and brotherly kindness! That idea reminds us of some of the arguments for war as an institution: war inculcates bravery and patriotism. It is a good thing because it provides a means for insuring a hardy generation of men!

What can be said for a generation of leaders that can envision no adventure for man beyond the fire with which he has already played?

In regard to the schools we should like to ask the superintendents who took part in the Journal of Education symposium another question. If it required an economic storm to lift a curtain that blinded us before "the depression" what reason have we to believe that when the catastrophe is over (whenever and however that may be) we shall not immediately begin all over again the process of building upon false premises, promoting unnecessary departments, and making unwise expenditures?

By what measuring rod is it determined that the schools have spent unwisely? Have we at last a true yard stick by which to measure our program and objectives? Will these same instruments be adequate for determining procedure under the conditions in which the schools will find themselves when they emerge from the present ordeal?

Who knows what those conditions are to be? More to the point, what do we as educators want the condi-

tions to be? How many of the teachers in your school system, Mr. Superintendent, have any intelligent idea about what a social order should be? Herein lies the condemnation of the schools: the large majority of the workers in the institution of education has no appreciable understanding of the social structure in which the institution functions. How then can our objectives articulate with the conditions in a changing world? How can we discriminate among progress, stagnation, and retrogression?

The cry of the world, "Re-educate the educators," is the most arresting challenge to the schools.

No. The schools cannot emerge from the depression any stronger or any better than they were before. To counterbalance anything that we may have learned there will be many new problems arising out of the physical, mental, and moral derangements of a world that has been on an economic debauch. Perhaps we shall have learned nothing that we could not have learned through voluntary application in normal times had we willed to know. There will be much more to learn and we shall wade through unhappy experiences to learn it.

We shall stumble through new problems just as we have done in the past unless we set ourselves consciously to the task of developing social intelligence among ourselves, the teachers of the youth of the world and in some degree the potential leaders of thought in our communities. Marked progress here would give the world reason to hope that in a generation or so man might enjoy the benefits of a really new and better social order.

MARY C. BARKER.

## Blind and Dumb

In Seattle, where the unemployed have been rather better organized to care for their problems than in other cities, there has been a struggle for the past six months between the unemployed who wished to maintain their organizations and the reactionary citizens of that far western city who wished to break up the organization.

Through the self-help activities and the distribution of public relief without the overhead cost of social agencies, the unemployed organizations of Seattle have furnished relief to the unemployed of that city at about half the cost to the taxpayers that would have accrued under the methods used in most cities where there are no real organizations of the unemployed.

The saving in self-respect both to the unemployed and to the citizens generally is incalculable.

There seem to have been two chief objections to the unemployed organizations. First, the organizations were buying their supplies at wholesale or from producers without giving the retailers a chance to get their cut. Second, the unemployed organizations had the nerve to use their political power.

The culmination of the struggle came when several thousand of the unemployed spent several days in the County-City building waiting for a governmental committee which had been created to handle relief matters. There seems to have been no violence or disorder during the time three or four thousand unemployed men and women spent three days in the building. Imagine several thousand hungry men who have no organization spending three days in the public buildings of an eastern city. The time will come when the conservative citizens of Seattle will give thanks for the organization of the unemployed, if they do not in the meantime succeed in breaking it up.

The unemployed were finally driven from the building, fifteen hundred retailers in the city were put on the dole, and relief will cost the people of Seattle about double what it has been costing them, or the unemployed will get about half as much to eat, in which case, the cost to Seattle will be much more than double.

If the depression continues to get worse with an increase in the cost of supporting the unemployed, the time will come when all money raised by taxes will be necessary for that purpose. Even that may not be enough to support all those who cannot get work. On that day, many a city will regret that its unemployed do not have a good, strong organization.

## Tenure in California

On February 4, the Legislative Committee of the California Teachers Association met in San Francisco and by a vote of 29 to 22 decided it would not support the present tenure law.

The administrators who put over this program seemed so anxious to please the school trustees of some parts of the state that they boldly stated there should be some sort of compromise whereby the trustees would be satisfied. It is generally believed that a five-year contract will take the place of tenure, if they have their way in the matter.

The Teachers Association of San

Francisco is up in arms and thoroughly aroused. The prettiest bit of fireworks ever seen in educational circles in California is anticipated. Now that the C. T. A. has at last come out in the open there should be no arguments possible that would induce the classroom people to renew their membership in the C. T. A.

Dr. Gwinn, Superintendent of Schools, San Francisco, has prepared a bill which has the approval of the school board, abolishing the section of the school code which gives to cities the right to incorporate tenure in their city charters. He evidently is bent on making a thorough job of it.

It is a sorry mess the C. T. A. is seeking to get the teachers into, but there are still hopes that there will be sufficient strength shown by other organizations to prevent any drastic changes in the tenure law.

### Pennsylvania Labor Speaks for the Schools

Harrisburg, Pa.—It is admitted that the future of civilization depends to a great extent on the quality of present day primary education but meanwhile politicians want to create sweatshop and speed-up conditions in the Pennsylvania school system.

This charge was made by John Phillips, President of the State Federation of Labor testifying against proposed reduction in the \$100 a month minimum pay scale for rural teachers. A flat ten per cent cut in all minimum rates for teachers is proposed in revisions to the Educational code.

"Better salaries for teachers raised standards of public education in this state to the level of other modern states", Phillips said. "We now want to destroy educational standards along with economic standards. Teachers are not in a competitive industry.

"Today, no one with any economic intelligence could cut wages except to meet an immediate competitive situation.

"The school teachers have been better police for young people in this depression than the police. Nevertheless, thousands of young people are roaming hungry and desperate throughout Pennsylvania as in other states. A wise state would provide better educational facilities, to occupy the idle jobless child. Cut teachers' salaries and you will inevitably affect the morale of the educational system so that thousands of youngsters who now stay in school because they have no work, will drift out and swell the army of the unemployed."

### The Saturday Evening Post

Many teachers and friends of public education have been disturbed by an article in the January 28 issue of the Saturday Evening Post. The article which was written by one Edwin LeFevre is a bitter attack upon the American system of taxation and upon expenditures for certain governmental purposes. The American teacher is chosen as the typical "tax-eater" and is characterized as an unsocial pampered parasite unwilling to cooperate with other citizens during an economic crisis.

Due to the prominence of the article, which occupied the leading position in the issue, and to the wide circulation of the Post, the American Federation of Teachers believed that an article prepared by a nationally known writer with a different point of view would be welcomed by the Post which has presumed to be at least fair in its attitude toward public education and teachers.

The following letter and the reply speak for themselves:

February 15, 1933.

Mr. George Horace Lorimer, Editor,  
Saturday Evening Post,  
Independence Square, Philadelphia, Pa.  
Dear Mr. Lorimer:

In the January 28 issue of the Saturday Evening Post there appeared an article by Edwin LeFevre titled "Tax Blindness", which has been unfavorably received by teachers all over the United States. They feel that this article of Mr. LeFevre's gives a wrong impression of the teachers' status and his relation to society as well as the place and responsibility of public schools in our complex social order.

You will wish, I am sure, in the interest of fairness to present the educator's point of view, regardless of the fact that it would be good business so to do.

President Robert Maynard Hutchins of the University of Chicago will prepare an article for publication in the Saturday Evening Post showing the value of public education and that the teacher of America is anything but the pampered parasite of society, if you wish him to do so.

I shall hope to hear from you that this article by President Hutchins is desired.

Faithfully yours,

FLORENCE CURTISS HANSEN, Sec., Treas.,  
American Federation of Teachers

### Editorial Rooms, The Saturday Evening Post

February 23, 1933.

Dear Mrs. Hanson:

Thank you for your letter of the fifteenth. Mr. LeFevre did not offer his school teacher as typical of school teachers, but as typical of the tax blindness he was about to discuss, and the obliviousness of a citizen of the better sort to the financial crisis in her community.

Nothing we have said has been a criticism of teachers or of teaching, nor have we singled out the public school system for attack. It scarcely should be neces-

sary for The Saturday Evening Post to protest its belief in public education and its respect for teaching as a calling and for teachers as a class.

We should like to make our position on some of these matters a little clearer on our editorial page, but in recent weeks we have received a very large number of abusive and threatening letters from school teachers and officials. This correspondence has not been a natural protest against our attitude, but has been inspired. Let us quote a sentence from a circular letter sent to the presidents of local branches by Mr. J. Herbert Kelley, Executive Secretary of the Pennsylvania State Education Association:

"May I mention a third matter, namely the attitude of The Saturday Evening Post toward education. Recent editorials and articles have been distinctly unfavorable. Would it not be a good plan for you and your associates to bombard Mr. George Horace Lorimer, the editor, with protests against this editorial policy and threaten him with the elimination of the publication from your own reading list and from the reading list of the high school library? I am sure that such protests would give the editor pause. His attitude is most unfair toward the schools and unfair toward school children salesmen."

We feel that we must postpone any further comment or clarification of our position until this series of letters has stopped and their writers are in a different frame of mind.

Yours very truly,

THE EDITOR.

We publish this correspondence not so much to show the attitude of the Post as to clear ourselves of any charge that may be made of having written "abusive and threatening letters."

If the Post, which within two weeks published two feature articles decidedly unfriendly to teachers and public schools, closes its columns to the other side of the question, it will indeed "scarcely be necessary for The Saturday Evening Post to protest its belief in public education and its respect for teaching as a calling and for teachers as a class."

Memphis, Tenn.

January 22, 1933.

Dear Mrs. Hanson:

Congratulations on the especially fine issue of the AMERICAN TEACHER this month.

I am enclosing one dollar for four extra copies which I wish to pass on to some friends and other people that need to be enlightened.

VIVIAN POINDEXTER.

Send for extra copies if you can use them.—Editor.

### A. F. T. Convention

The 17th Annual Convention of the American Federation of Teachers will be held in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 26-30, 1933.



## The Citizens' Conference on the Crisis in Education

THE Citizens' Conference on the Crisis in Education, called by President Hoover to meet in Washington, January 5th, was planned by the American Federation of Labor and The American Council on Education.

The American Federation of Labor sent ten delegates headed by Frank Morrison, Secretary of the Federation. Dr. Henry Linville, President of the American Federation of Teachers, was one of the delegates.

The American Federation of Labor presented its position in the following strong statement:

### Labor's Emergency Education Program

The American Federation of Labor believes our public school system is a national institution of permanent importance in achieving those purposes for which society is organized. The whole of national progress is conditioned by the intellectual and moral development of its citizens. To keep progress sustained we must constantly guard the welfare of our children. Development of each succeeding generation must take precedence over other responsibilities. While this emergency calls for economies everywhere and retrenchments in many fields, we must guard against retrenchment which reduces the educational opportunities of children. Any curtailment in educational opportunities reduces our chances for having a trained citizenry, conscious of their capacities and able to use their human resources to greatest advantage. We believe that educational services must develop progressively with the increasing complexity and inter-relationship in social life. We cannot curtail essential governmental services even in a depression.

We believe that public welfare demands there should be no lowering of standards of education or curtailment of services or activities. Salary cuts, employment of teachers with lower standards, curtailment of the school year, or unduly increasing the standard teacher load are incompatible with this social policy.

We recognize that the decline in national income makes economies essential and forces inquiries into methods of financing. We believe that the unit costs of education can be lowered by wise economies. This should be done by economies and not cuts in salary scales. The morale of the teaching force is essential to maintenance of educational standards. Economies come from elimination of wastes and better administrative methods. Services essential to social progress must not fluctuate with the business cycles, but must be assured a permanent basis.

While emergency conditions do not form the basis for developing permanent governmental policies, yet we cannot develop emergency policies without reference to our permanent social and political philosophy. Nor can we plan our educational financial program without reference to expenditures for other services. Approximately 25% of local tax collections are expended for education. Local tax provisions have had to face the problem of declining national income and rapidly mounting demands for relief for the unemployed. Although responsibility for unemployment relief is a fundamental governmental responsibility to be shared by all units—national, state, and local—major responsibility has been shifted to the local unit. When the state and national governments assume their proportional responsibilities, there will not be such a heavy drain on local resources and the school emergency will be somewhat relieved. We urge the formulation of a national unemployment relief program together with necessary appropriations. The immediate enactment of such legislation would make it possible for local governments to carry on their essential services and assume their share of the emergency load.

Provisions to meet the depression needs must be borne by the federal government. This should be done before local resources are further diverted from their proper purposes. The present policy of loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation only after all resources are exhausted is unwise.

We urge further that the Reconstruction Finance Corporation be empowered to make loans at a low rate to states for educational purposes, including loans, equal to that part of delinquent taxes that would be allocated to educational purposes. Such loans would be amply secured by the property upon which the taxes were assessed. The loan would provide a tax moratorium for our own citizens.

We suggest as an additional source that a percentage of

gasoline taxes collected in the various states be allocated to educational purposes.

We recommend the principle of state aid, so that state revenues may assist the weaker sections within several states.

We recognize this is not a time to recommend new taxes, but we believe that judicious use of resources available and use of federal credit will enable us to weather the emergency without such injury to our children as would result from lowered educational standards. The ultimate purpose in education and in all other public services is development and conservation of social values.

In this great emergency the banking institutions should do their work for our public schools. They can do this by supplying funds adequately secured at rates of interest which represent a patriotic sacrifice during this period of the nation's greatest need, and perhaps emergency.

(Signed) WILLIAM GREEN, President  
American Federation of Labor.

The Citizens' Conference after much discussion adopted forty recommendations aiming at the protection of public education which include the following:

Educational service should be accorded a high degree of priority in determining the purposes and services which shall be supported by the states during an economic depression.

The major wastes should be eliminated through the elimination of control and interference by politicians, of political appointments and of political corruption.

Local governments and local school districts should be reorganized and consolidated.

Administrative control of the schools must be centralized in the superintendent.

State administrative organization of education must be reorganized through the creation of a nonpolitical and professional agency for the administration of the educational policies of the state.

The state must assume the responsibility within its means of assuring adequate public education to all local communities, irrespective of their financial condition.

Education is related inseparably to economic conditions and to the future as well as the present social health of the nation. The present status of the nation's finances requires rigid economy in public education. At the same time the education of the present generation of school children, bound up as it is with proper functioning of our institutions in years to come, must not be sacrificed to temporary economic needs.

The teaching load should not be increased beyond the ability of the individual teacher to offer a reasonable standard of instruction to each pupil.

The size of classes in art, music, shop work, home economics and other special subjects should be made as large as that of the average academic class.

The amount of time given to the laboratory sciences should be the same as that given to other academic subjects.

The amount of credit for all vocational subjects should be equal to the number of teacher hours required, provided that provision be made for a proper amount of extra class work to be done by each pupil.

Accrediting agencies should be urged to modify their standards for those schools which can carry a higher pupil-teacher ratio without detriment to the welfare of the children.

The requirements of the Federal Board for Vocational Education should be revised.

Building construction should be postponed if, when and where practicable.

Business departments should be studied and if possible reorganized.

Definite and comparable information on school costs being needed and not now available, the U. S. Office of Education is requested to resume this important and timely study.

The records of the U. S. Office of Education show that reductions in school budgets already range from 15 to 100 per cent. Over 4,500 school districts have closed their schools entirely. Nor is this the worst. There is a demand that school budgets be further reduced though they have already been cut to a point where the schools cannot be operated efficiently. We go on record as opposed to this unwise and unsound procedure.

The immediate harm to school children arising from insufficient educational supplies, overcrowded classes, poorly prepared teachers, and shortened school terms is obvious. The ultimate evils may not appear for a decade, but it is certain that the nation will pay heavily in the future if our educational machinery is allowed to break down today.

# Schools and the A. F. of L. Convention

(Continued from February issue)

## Education Committee

Four of the resolutions referred to the Education Committee were combined into one substitute motion dealing in the main with the same topic, adequate financial support of public schools.

### School Support in the Period of Retrenchment

WHEREAS, During the past two years, due to the industrial depression, a tremendous increase in school membership has shown itself largely in the junior and senior high schools; and

WHEREAS, The education of those workers, forced out of employment by industrial conditions over which they have no control, is a proper responsibility for the community to assume; and

WHEREAS, A decrease in public revenue due to economic conditions has been general throughout the country during the last few years; and

WHEREAS, The retrenchment thus necessitated in public expenditures has in many communities been expressed in drastic cuts in appropriations for public schools; and

WHEREAS, These reductions must inevitably lessen the efficiency of this great institution of service at a period when its stabilizing force is most needed, and when its resources are most heavily taxed by the increased school population; and

WHEREAS, The public schools are universally admitted to be necessary for social stability and progress, which are effectively served only in proportion as the services of the schools are maintained and extended; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor protest against the false economy of curtailing the services of the schools and of reducing the income of the educational staff of these schools; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor first urge its Central Labor Bodies, State Federations of Labor, National and International Organizations and Affiliated Unions that they recognize their responsibility for awakening in their communities anew the tradition of American devotion to the public schools; that it call, second, upon all organizations and individuals to whom the well-being of our nation is sacred to throw the whole weight of their power and influence into the protection of our public schools; and that it call, third, upon the people of America to take heed to the danger to which this policy of retrenchment in public school support is exposing the nation, since democratic government is founded on public education, and that they put squarely before their fellow citizens the danger in which reduction of school revenues will place their schools, to the end that the sentiment of the community shall demand of public officials that crippling retrenchments be not made in that public service most vital to the welfare of the community and of the nation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That in order to counteract the propaganda of taxpayers' associations and Chambers of Commerce designed to curtail school expenditures, the American Federation of Labor will undertake during the coming year a publicity campaign for the purpose of presenting to the public the real effect upon the rising generation of injury to the public school system in order to build up an alert public opinion on school questions.

A substitute motion combining the resolutions dealing respectively with protesting against curtailment of public school educational facilities and protecting the school year was adopted.

### Economy Programs and School Support

WHEREAS, In time of financial stress and disturbance, among the most serious steps in so-called economy is the curtailment of school activity; and

WHEREAS, These curtailments take forms deleterious to the children for all time and therefore to the future of the nation, such curtailments being shortening of the school year; elimination of skills and arts necessary to meet our modern complex civilization; lengthening of the school day; increase in the size of classes, thereby defeating the purpose of education; such consolidation of schools as leads to an increase in the size of schools such as to make humanly impossible the inspired leadership which the head of the schools should give; unwise, unjust and dangerous reduction in teachers' salaries; therefore be it

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor take all

steps to inform the public of the dangers inherent in these retrenchments; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the American Federation of Labor take vigorous action to guard against curtailment or elimination of any school activity necessary to maintain and improve educational standards.

A resolution reaffirming the position of the American Federation of Labor in favor of compulsory full-time education to the age of sixteen and part-time education to the age of eighteen for all children of every state was introduced jointly by Robert J. Watt of the Massachusetts State Federation of Labor and the delegate of the A. F. of T., and adopted by the Convention.

The Education Committee submitted the following report on "Our Public School System" and "Child Welfare". Your attention is particularly called to the recommendations made and accepted by the delegates.

### Our Public School System

Under the above caption the Executive Council's report gives an account showing commendable interest in the public school situation. This account indicates the steadily increasing services rendered by the public schools. With the increasing complexities of modern society the schools have grown to meet that complexity. At this time of financial stress, when the need of sympathetic interest and support of schools is greater than ever before, when the responsibility of the schools due to our terrific unemployment situation has been increasing, when these added responsibilities call for added financial resources not curtailment, all those interested in safeguarding public education must arouse themselves to that end. Our public schools are experiencing an attack upon their very existence as an institution providing for the needs of the children of *all* the people, to say nothing of their functions as the bulwark of democracy.

Organized Labor adheres to its traditional stand and as its predecessors established through their efforts free and general education and have sponsored and originated practically every progressive movement in the public school system, free text books, compulsory education laws, vocational education, continuation schools, evening schools, tenure for teachers, retirement systems, workmen's compensation laws applicable to teachers, increased compensation for teachers—it is now ready to defend to the utmost our public school system against the attacks of financiers, industrialists and tax associations seeking to destroy it. As public education owes almost its whole being to the interest and support of organized labor, so will organized labor's continued interest and support preserve our free, tax-supported schools and see that they are maintained and developed, not only kept as good as they are but made better and better in spite of the depression, yes, because of the depression.

The schools are the subject of attack in the name of economy. These so-called economies take the following forms:

1. Reducing teachers' salaries—the favorite economy.
2. Employing fewer teachers.
3. Employing teachers of little training and experience at lowest salary levels.
4. Shortening the school year.
5. Increasing the size of classes.
6. Postponing erection of new buildings.



7. Postponing purchase of equipment and supplies.
8. Eliminating subject matter, as health education, vocational education, music, art, dramatics, kindergartens, child guidance, special classes for the handicapped, etc.
9. Eliminating free text books.
10. Eliminating top age limit of compulsory school attendance.
11. Repealing teacher tenure laws not in order to get better teachers but in order to get cheaper teachers.
12. Eliminating sick leave pay.
13. Repealing minimum wage law.
14. Advertising for bids, teaching positions to go to the lowest bidder.
15. Eliminating dental clinics, medical inspection and attendance officers.

These are the fads and frills of which we hear so much and with which it is proposed to do away in the name of economy. And the children pay and they pay for all time. It cannot be made up to them or to the nation. The school is the greatest institution for the training of sound citizenship. It is inextricably bound up with social welfare.

The first industrial revolution changed standards and practices and sent the children into the factories. The trade unionists of that day rose in protest and established the free, tax-supported public schools, which we have long regarded as our most cherished and most characteristic American institution. This has grown into our present great system rendering a tremendous social service.

Where will the second industrial revolution send our children? We are appalled at the increase in vice and crime in the last three years among our very young.

Reliable authority tells us that there are thousands of boys and girls of high school and college age now wandering the highways of the country. The press frequently informs us of tragedies that have befallen some of these homeless children through fatal accidents and temptation into crime.

No less a distinguished educator than President Hutchins has said:

"Undoubtedly in the hysteria of inflation the schools, like the colleges and universities, did some things that they can now do without. But the things that communities propose to do to them in the hysteria of economy far surpass the wildest aberrations of bull-market days. The plain fact is that the schools are under attack because it is easier to get money from them than it is to correct the fundamental iniquities and antiquities of local government. Only a people that had no conception of the place of education in its national life could contemplate the ruin of the next generation as the best remedy for governmental insolvency."

The Executive Council's report gives statistics to show the increase in school expenditures, showing that the increase went for longer terms and increased attendance, improvements in educational service and to cover depreciation of the dollar. However, the percentage of national income spent for this purpose remained practically constant in the decade ending in 1929.

Much propaganda that the schools cost too much is being spread. Actually if a tax of 10c per day were collected from each person of 21 years of age and over in the United States the total amount so collected would pay the present public education expense for almost 26,500,000 pupils. In 1930, the average expense per adult for public education was \$36.42, the total cost of which was something over \$2,500,000,000.

The American Federation of Labor stands for more money for public education, not less. It reaffirms its

position of increased revenues to maintain and develop our public schools.

It is true we are in a depression, but neither the schools nor the children are in any way accountable for it. It is not the schools that have failed.

Organized Labor is interested in locating waste and extravagance in government and in schools but wishes to see the responsibility for them placed where it belongs and to see that economy programs do not harm our children.

There is much talk to the effect that what was good enough for us is good enough for our children. Organized Labor says that what was good enough for us is not good enough for our children. *Our* ethical standards have not fallen so low as that. Social progress has been made because parents have demanded a better, fuller life for their children than they had for themselves. The day of the three—R type of education has long passed. We have long left behind the day when the children needed from the school only the three R's, when they received in the home apprentice training, amusement and major training for living and livelihood. Our schools give a broader, more complex training to fit the child to meet the problems of our more complex modern world.

Our schools are worth saving. The task calls for complete unity of action among our common people. The American Federation of Labor pledges itself to conserve our public school system, for the maintenance and development of our civilization and for the perpetuity of our institutions.

\* \* \*

Your committee desires to emphasize in the minds of the delegates the relation of education to economic recovery. Not only is the maintenance of the wages of over a million workers in this social industry important in the work of stabilization, but also education increases consumption, since it raises the standard of living of the people. Educated people desire more and better things; the luxuries of a generation ago have become the necessities of today. With the increased consumption created by education comes increased production, which furnishes employment to more workers, who themselves create an endless chain demanding increased consumption stimulating production in a constantly widening circle.

\* \* \*

*Your committee recommends that the officers of the American Federation of Labor be directed to prepare and introduce into the next Congress a resolution providing for the undertaking of a nation-wide investigation into school financing, urban and rural, to ascertain and publicize how school finances are raised, how disbursed, what portion goes into instruction, what portion into physical equipment, maintenance and other labor costs and what portion is intentionally diverted from its proper uses, this canvass to include the relations of the public school to public welfare, to discover how the public schools today function in our national economy and what is their worth as a social institution.*

The state makes a free gift to its citizens of what is known as elementary or primary education, regarding money spent in this way as a kind of premium of national insurance. An ignorant nation is a nation ready to be roused to riot and fury on very small provocation as our history proves again and again; and an ignorant nation may assuredly look forward to becoming the servant of a nation better educated than itself.—*Richard Wilson, in The Complete Citizen.*

# Education or Catastrophe

**Children Begin to Show Effects of Depression.**—Statistics showing a favorable state of public health since the depression began are not telling the whole story, a report of the Brooklyn Bureau of Charities indicates.

In reporting that the bureau gave more relief in December than in any previous month of the bureau's existence of 53 years, Douglas P. Falconer, general secretary said:

"Whatever may be the favorable health statistics given out by the city, the children are beginning to show the results of privation. Records kept by our health examination dispensary of 2,982 children examined in the last ten months show a little more than twice as many undernourished as in the same period in 1931."

**Indiana House Bans "Yellow Dog" Pacts.**—Legislation forbids issue of injunctions unless life and property are in danger.

Without a dissenting vote—88 to 0—the Indiana House of Representatives has approved the Black-Eshelman Anti-Injunction and "Yellow Dog" bill.

The measure forbids the issuance of injunctions in any labor dispute unless it is shown by testimony in open court that there is danger to life or property.

It also outlaws any contract contingent on an employee's agreement not to become a member of a labor organization.

**3-Month School Terms Forecast.**—School terms in Tulsa, Oklahoma, must be reduced to three months unless some other way of financing the school system is found, Clay W. Kerr, president of the State Teachers' Association, warned at the annual convention.

Big business, particularly the oil industry, in the state is bitterly resisting a program of income and inheritance taxation, and a drive to put over a sales tax so as to "soak the poor" is starting.

**Students Organize Against War.**—Program of militant struggle against imperialist war is adopted by National Student Congress Against War in Chicago, with 680 delegates in attendance.

**School Book Trust Exposed.**—Ontario furnishes figures which show how Americans are gouged; good place to enforce economy in educational costs.

In most, if not all, states of the Union, a combination of publishers dictates the textbooks used in public schools. This so-called "School Book Trust" charges high prices, and that it may continue to charge them, is constantly spending large sums to control school board elections and to put its friends in key positions in our educational system.

One of the Trust's favorite "rackets" is to change textbooks at frequent intervals, thus boosting sales.

*West Virginia pays from two to nine times as much per book as Ontario*, and takes the added chance of propaganda creeping into the books laid before children in their most impressionable years. And the Ontario prices given are the maximum; by buying direct from the publisher, the parents get a 20 per cent discount.

If in these times of depression, the American people want to save money on their schools without taking it out of the children, a good place to start would be on the School Book Trust.

**Pan American Day**, April 14, will be observed widely in our schools and civic organizations again this year

in accord with the proclamation of President Hoover of three years ago which read in part:

I, Herbert Hoover, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim April 14 as "Pan American Day," and do hereby order that the flag of the United States be displayed on all Government buildings on that date, and do invite the schools, civic associations, and people of the United States generally to observe the day with appropriate ceremonies, thereby giving expression to the spirit of the Continental solidarity and other sentiments of cordiality and friendly feeling which the Government and people of the United States entertain toward the Peoples and Governments of other Republics of the American Continent.

Send to the Pan American Union, Washington, D. C., for literature covering the various phases of Inter-American relations and designed to serve as the basis of appropriate observances of the day.

**Conscientious Objector Is Granted Citizenship.**—John P. Klassen, 44, professor of arts, Bluffton College, was admitted to citizenship in Common Pleas Court here today, despite his refusal to take the full oath of allegiance.

Klassen, a Russian who came to America in 1924, declined to swear he would bear arms in defense of the country, although willing to do noncombatant duty. He said such an oath would vitiate his religious principles.

He was upheld by Judge Everett, who granted the citizenship papers over the protest of Edward J. Kennedy, Federal naturalization inspector. The Judge admitted his action conflicted with Supreme Court decisions, but said he was willing to risk reversal rather than rule contrary to his convictions.

**Maryland University Restores Coale to Classes.**—Ennis Coale, student at the University of Maryland, who was suspended last September for refusal to take military training, registered at the university for the second semester yesterday.

The Baltimore Superior Court issued a writ of mandamus several weeks ago for his reinstatement. This decision has been appealed to the Court of Appeals of Maryland by the university and is scheduled to come up for review in April.

Meanwhile, Dr. Raymond A. Pearson, president of the university, ruled that Coale may re-enter college and will not have to take military training.

**Childhood Education Convention Will Be Held in Denver.**—The Association for Childhood Education will hold its annual convention in Denver, June 27 to July 1. More than one thousand teachers from all parts of the United States are expected to attend the gathering. Convention headquarters will be maintained at the Brown Palace Hotel.

The five-day program will be headed by educators of national and international importance.

**Progressive Education Group Met in Chicago.**—The Progressive Education Association held its annual convention in Chicago, at the Palmer House, March 2, 3 and 4. The theme of the convention was "Educational Implications of the Changing Social Order."

The conference called on teachers and educators to exert a more vigorous leadership in schools and communities, and to face honestly and sincerely the economic and social crisis which is seriously affecting the program of the schools.



**Teacher Wins Fight for Job, Court Orders Santa Monica to Reinstate Employee.**—The Board of Education of the city of Santa Monica must reinstate Nellie M. Laycock as a permanent health and development teacher, Superior Judge Moore ordered in a decision handed down yesterday wherein he discussed at length the paramount importance of retaining in the public service employees of proven competency.

"No art or craft conceived by human ingenuity is superior in importance to the fine art of conducting our schools with the utmost skill and humanity," Judge Moore stated. "Surely this could not be done if every school board that is elected biennially, from laymen who are required to have no special qualifications for office, could exercise the prerogative of expelling efficient and faithful teachers without substantiating charges formally filed against them and into their places importing a coterie of favorites, possessed of much, little or no experience."

**Oregon Adopts Federal Child Labor Amendment.**—Both houses of the Oregon Legislature approved the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution.

Oregon is the seventh State to adopt the amendment. The campaign in favor of the amendment was conducted by the Oregon State Federation of Labor under the direction of Ben T. Osborne, secretary of the Federation.

**Utah State Boards Refuse Pay Cut Urged by Gov. Dern.**—The State university and the State insanity Board of Utah refused to cut the wages of their employes in accordance with the suggestion of Governor Dern, who recommended that all State departments slash their pay rolls. Those familiar with the situation believe the proposed wage slash will be a failure. It is claimed the wages paid by Utah are even now too low, and are in fact less than the average in other Western States.

**Prevent Eviction of Penniless Farmer.**—Several hundred farmers organize to prevent sheriff sale on farm in Bucks County, Pa.; keep bids down to \$1.18 for entire farm and equipment, which they return to farmer.

**Iowa Farmers Fight Foreclosures.**—With movement of resistance to evictions and foreclosures spreading like wild-fire through farm belt, 800 farmers gather at LeMars, Ia., and prevent foreclosure sale after overpowering sheriff.

**Propose Unionists' Taxpayers' Group.**—A proposal to establish a taxpayers' association, made up of unionists, working men, working farmers and others was discussed at Sunday's meeting of the San Joaquin Valley Labor Conference in Fresno.

Delegates to the conference expressed themselves very emphatically in no complimentary terms concerning grand jury and public officials who seem to have united in a concerted drive on wages of public employes.

It was pointed out that many times representatives of some taxpayers' group took it upon themselves to represent all taxpayers. The delegates pointed out that organized labor and other workers constituted a very large taxpaying group, with interests not necessarily the same as taxpayers' associations made up of a membership of corporate interests, large land owners or owners of rental and income property.

A committee representative of all cities in the valley in which union organizations are active, was set up to study the matter of establishing a taxpayers' group which should represent the small taxpayer.

**Conference on Business Education Will Be Held in Chicago.**—A conference on business education will be held at the University of Chicago on June 29 and 30, under the auspices of the school of business. The general theme of the conference will be "The Reconstruction of Business Education in Secondary Schools."

The Department of Business Education of the National Education Association and the National Association of Commercial Teacher Training Institutions plan to hold meetings in Chicago at the time of the University of Chicago conference.

**Three Teacher Training Colleges Closed in New York.**—The three teacher training colleges of New York City—the New York Teachers Training College, the Maxwell Teachers Training College and the Jamaica Teachers Training College—were closed on February 3. The 1,931 students in the three colleges were transferred to teacher training classes in the three city colleges—the College of the City of New York, Brooklyn College and Hunter College.

The change is expected to effect a saving of \$250,000 annually. The personnel of the closed teacher training colleges has been transferred to vacant places in high schools, and the three buildings formerly used by the institutions will be used to accommodate high school pupils.

### Raid on Schools Balked by Labor

**Prevent Juggling of Funds by Bankers Who Demanded Payment of Bond Interest**

Detroit, Jan. 26.—Organized labor in Detroit has prevented a group of greedy bankers from crippling the public school system.

The city government, hard-pressed for funds, has been unable to meet payments on certain loans it secured at high interest rates from the banks.

When the financiers discovered that the Board of Education had \$2,000,000 in its treasury they demanded that it be transferred to the city's general fund so the loans could be paid—even though it meant closing down many of the schools.

This scheme was all set to go through when President Frank X. Martel of the Detroit Federation of Labor secured an injunction restraining the deal.

Judge Clyde L. Webster, who issued the restraining order, said he believed the contemplated action of the Board of Education was clearly illegal.

### William E. McEwen

The teachers have lost one of their best friends and the schools an able and devoted defender in the death of William E. McEwen, outstanding labor leader of the Northwest.

Since 1900 he had been publisher and editor of the Duluth "Labor World" and was nationally known for his writings on labor and economic subjects.

Mr. McEwen was one of the first trade unionists to utilize the radio to combat "open shop" propaganda. For a number of years he conducted a regular program of broadcasts on various phases of the labor movement. He was a brilliant and forceful speaker.

For 18 years he was secretary and treasurer of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, resigning in 1914 when President Wilson appointed him postmaster of Duluth.

He was also State Labor Commissioner under the famous Governor John A. Johnson. In 1910 he served on a commission that visited Europe to study workmen's compensation laws.

## BOOKS

"There is no frigate like a book  
To bear us lands away."

—Emily Dickinson.

**WORLD HISTORY.** By Carlton J. H. Hayes, Parker Thomas Moon and John W. Wayland. Macmillan, 1932. \$2.20.

Those who know *Modern History* by the two Columbia University professors, Hayes and Moon, the studies of French nationalism by Dr. Hayes, and Dr. Parker T. Moon's *Imperialism and World Politics* (to mention no other of their joint and separate works), will be favorably predisposed toward this new world history text. It is a saddening thought that while the writers and scholars led by H. G. Wells have more than ever before shown that world history can be told truthfully only when told as a whole, the trend in political practice is toward reviving the insularity of nationalism and the fragmentation of the world into sections ringed round by towering tariff walls; that while the best historians have smashed the "corridor" nationalist history of the past, the politicians are denying the facts of economic interdependence.

To avoid the dangers of this folly, which if unchecked will write itself in the suicide of mankind, educators everywhere should try to build up a world outlook based on the facts of history so well related and illustrated with clear maps and a copious index in this volume. One envies the modern child blessed with such texts which ignore no portion of the earth's inhabitants. In few histories do the authors show the connection between the downfall of the ancient civilizations and their basis of chattel slavery. At first the references to this in *World History* are casual but on p. 109 they become more pointed. Speaking of the changes in Greece in the fourth century the authors write of the "constant growth of slavery" and state that in Athens considerably more than half the population were then slaves. They recognize that the presence of this cheap labor prevented the application of inventions to industry. The connection between the debauchery by luxury of the slave-exploiting ruling class and the decay of Rome is also made clear or at least so well implied that the intelligent teacher need only cross the t's and dot the i's. (See pages 124, 147, 183, 221.) The authors obviously favor international co-operation but their approach is that of enlightened and scholarly Cath-

olics. Their bias toward Christianity and the Catholic Church comes out in their references to the alleged founder of the Christian religion. Then too in the same vein the Reformation is renamed the Protestant Revolt. There is an easy optimism expressed on p. 475 that Christians no longer fight each other and "that real Christian charity is growing." We see little grounds for this if we remember the harnessing of the various religious bodies to the respective nationalist war chariots in the world war, 1914-18, or the treatment given to bonus seekers and unemployed demonstrations in more recent years. However, this touches upon larger themes than can be dealt with here. While *World History* gives a summary of events in Soviet Russia which is a model of fairness compared to some of the texts we have read, it does not explain when recording the opposition of the Bolsheviks to the Orthodox Church why the Church merited such treatment because of its part in exploiting the peasants and in plotting counter-revolution.

Despite the ground covered in the summary of world history from The Age of the Hunters to the League of Nations, errors are few and far between. However, it is not exact to say the Labor Party in Britain was organized in 1901 for that title was adopted only in 1906 when enough representatives secured places in the House of Commons to act as an independent parliamentary party.

MARK STARR.

**ENVIRONMENTAL BASIS OF SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY.** By C. C. Huntingdon and F. A. Carlson. Prentice Hall. \$4.

The same emphasis upon the necessity of international co-operation is found in this geography text designed for college and university students, as in the "World History" by Hayes and others. Although here the co-operation especially advocated is that between Britain and the United States with a view to preserving the world's oil resources. This book is more concerned with the scientific classification of "social geography" and with the mechanics of geographical influences than are such books as Fairgreve's *Geography and World Power*, Fleure's *Human Geography* and Newbiggin's *Modern Geography*. It does not, like Eckel's *Coal, Iron and War*, follow the clue of the location of raw materials to explain imperialist rivalries over certain areas.

It lacks the distinctive maps and the bold generalizations concerning world interdependence and the need for political unity by co-operation between workers' governments which mark Horrabin's *Outline of Economic Geography* which, having been translated into Russian, German and Italian for workers' education classes, has now been brought up-to-date in a new edition. But to those teachers who can draw conclusions and make deductions from the wealth of detail herein presented this book is an enrichment of the new geography which was so stimulated by Miss Semple's *Influences of Geographic Environment* away back in 1911. This college text shows how far the schools have progressed away from the old grind of memorizing the details of "sailor geography" and made geography a study of the fascinating interplay of natural and social forces. Instead of dates and descriptions the new geography deals with the dynamics of past and present and future society.

Dr. Huntingdon and Dr. Carlson are not environmental determinists. They do not go as far as Miss Semple in quoting with approval that "History is geography set in motion." Their organization of the material of geography is based upon the following assumptions:

- (1) That geography is concerned with man and his environment.
- (2) That while environment influences society, the latter modifies environment.
- (3) That both environment and society are continually changing and must be studied as a process.

These simple propositions pave the way to an explanation of many historical riddles, to questions of racial distribution, location of various civilizations and the present utilization of natural resources. There are sections on maps and their interpretation which teachers will find useful, and also a plentiful supply of maps, diagrams and pictures mostly devoted to the United States. A by-product of the chapter on weather and man and the treatment of forest lands is the conviction that without the intervention of the State and the help of the Weather Bureau vast areas would be denuded and ruined, and many industries professing rugged individualism would be unable to meet the vagaries of nature if the two hundred official observation stations provided by the taxpayer did not constantly provide information and advice.

MARK STARR.



EDUCATING FOR CITIZENSHIP. By George A. Coe. Scribners, New York, 1932, 205 pp. \$1.50.

"In spite of the fact that for a century and a half we have intended to separate ourselves from the monarchical system, the prevalent American view of patriotism has remained essentially monarchical." Many if not most of us still speak of teaching "respect for government" and "obedience" as though we were preparing boys and girls to be "good subjects" of an authoritarian sovereign. "But when sovereignty inheres in the people—in the very procession that is moving into and out of the schools—then the teacher and the taught, the ruler and the ruled, are not two but one, and education becomes a part of the process whereby the ruler-teacher makes up his mind and changes it." "The public schools are society accusing itself (examining its faults and its possibilities), and explicitly seeking to transcend itself." "The sovereignty of the people can and should advance from government by consent to government by creative self-assertion." "Citizens have no duties to the state; rather, acting as the state they have duties to persons."

"What is it to be good? Is it not to fulfill some (definite and specific) relationship (or task) as parent or child; as teacher or pupil; as employer or employee; as seller or buyer, as physician or patient, and so on? When the virtues are conceived in blank generality, apart from issues that arise, decisions that have to be made, and acts that are required in concrete situations, they are entirely abstract." "Surely one of the most tantalizing of civic situations is that in which 'good men' are the bulwark of evil policies. When training for citizenship takes the form of inculcating generalized virtues, it simply leaves to chance nearly all, if not quite all, the issues upon which the fate of the state depends." "To be patriotic, to reverence the flag, to obey the laws, to vote regularly, to be for honesty and against dishonesty in public officials, even to be willing to die in defense of the country—one can be and do all this and yet be on either the right or wrong side of the most vital questions of public welfare and of state policy."

Life today is so complex and so new when compared to the traditions which govern our civic conduct that much new, detailed analysis of the new situations is required for intelligent service. The depression shows that even "our most astute guides in industry and finance are helpless in

the presence of the most rudimentary questions in their own field." ". . . our ideal (educational) system will initiate our young citizens into our unsolved problems—yes, into our conflicts and defects also. . . . *Schools are the very place where we should make sure that our faults and controverted questions of social weal and of state politics are habitually discussed.*"

When we recognize our boys and girls as the young citizens they really are, their rights, duties, powers, tasks, responsibilities and training will include not only practice and development of self-government within the school community, not merely detached analysis of the problems of the outside community, but actually sharing the burdens of developing this outside community. "A pupil who acquires abilities to analyze problems of state without actually analyzing them when they are crying aloud in the community is acquiring a habit of not attending to political actualities, but of letting them slip along . . . if we are to have adequate character education, the pupil must deal, while he is a pupil, with the substance of adult experience and duty beyond the school."

Dodging controversial issues in the interest or guise of "non-partisanship" usually results in actually sustaining the status quo, allowing the old traditions to rule. "Is it not clear that the school situation, if it is to be socially dynamic, must not hold itself aloof from the dynamics of the social conflicts that are going on outside the school? And does it not follow that true non-partisanship never can be had by splicing together a set of silences?"

"The teacher's political convictions must have free scope outside the school (as well as active expression within the discussions of the classroom). . . . How else can teachers develop in themselves a patriotism that is more than a detached and therefore a weak sentiment?" "The fact is not only that teachers are not distinguished for active good citizenship, but they meet coldness, unfavorable discrimination and obstruction when they attempt it." "Education for citizenship, accordingly, must be recognized as a competition in teaching, a contest with 'powers behind the throne' that continually mask the creditable actualities and the glorious possibilities of our political state."

As for patriotism and service, "*It is easier to accept the risks of battle for oneself, and even for one's own son, than it is to subordinate the de-*

*sire for profits to love of country.* This is a terrible assertion, but experience shows that it is true. The supreme test of the patriot does not come when he faces his own neighbors—Jack, Mike and the rest—as persons possessed of the same final worth that he claims for himself. *The supreme sacrifice is not the giving of one's blood, but the giving up of opportunity for power over persons by reasons of possessions. The stern call to patriotism today is a call repentantly to identify ourselves, as citizens, with the existing economic injustice and futility, and then to form a co-operative industrial commonwealth that shall express, as the political finality, the value of persons.*"

With the full maturity of his seventy active years, and the enthusiasm and vigor of a young man (who spent this summer vacation building a camp in the woods), Dr. Coe has written a highly readable, profound, timely analysis of the methods and objectives of citizenship training for a democracy that finds itself in difficulty. There are valuable chapters, not suggested in the random quotations used above, on propaganda, the role of the Federal government in education (including the abuses of the War Department), the new social studies, political control of the schools, and pedagogical methods suited to democratic training. We commend this book to every teacher, minister, parent or other student of education.

*From Breaking the War Habit, Committee on Militarism in Education*

BLOOD OF THE LAMB. By Matthew Mark. Mohawk Press. \$2.00.

The post-war breaking down of social controls, so slowly and laboriously evolved, challenges church, state and school. How feeble and spurious were our efforts toward peace education! To re-elevate, to indoctrinate with more real concepts is a gigantic task calling for mental effort, emotional strain and more time than we have at our command.

The horrendous tale, with its causal factors and calamitous consequences, has been unfolded for us in graphic, comprehensive and vitriolic form by Matthew Mark in BLOOD OF THE LAMB. The author, a Chicago newspaper man, traces his ancestry to the Pilgrims and proclaims himself a veteran of the World War.

The narrator, also a journalist, early falls under the spell of the hero, Minus. During the administration of Robust (Roosevelt), Minus is elected to Congress.

With swift-moving, cinema-like flashes, we are taken through the inception of the war under Wisdom and are given a terrific closeup of the uncivilized treatment of conscientious objectors, the brutalization of our "heroes" and the general back-wash of the war. There is unfolded the now historic aftermath—political corruption under Goodfellow; the silent inaction of Doolittle and the prosperity ballyhoo of Superman. Too, we have a satiric portrayal of the more contemporaneous quadrennial bombast of the evasive two-ring Donkey and Elephant circus.

That which is most portentous is the recording of the next war. It is against this that Minus, as ever, protests.

He is answered by the reminiscent cry for the blood of the lamb.

Enlightened peoples can no longer shrink from acknowledgment of our past failure and of our future problem. This novel, which Clarence Darrow calls "amazing"—"tremendous theme"—"terrific stuff", should be read by all college students as well as everyone who deigns to call himself an educator. *BLOOD OF THE LAMB* would serve a purpose if only in arousing educators. In his novel, Matthew Mark exposes the institution of war with a courageous daring and a rare intensity of feeling which cannot help but energize and inspire us weary and disillusioned pedagogues.

FRANCES RAYE.

#### BOOK NOTES

Horace M. Kallen in his pamphlet *COLLEGE PROLONGS INFANCY*, one of the 25 cent series published by John Day, makes the latest and perhaps the most devastating of the many attacks that have been made upon college education: He says:

"Though education is customarily described as 'preparation for life', the ways and works of high schools and colleges are so irrelevant to 'life' that their prime achievement remains perforce the prolongation of infancy. They make adulthood harder to reach, not easier."

\* \* \*

Waldo Frank makes the following comment on the recent pamphlet *FOR REVOLUTION* by V. F. Calverton:

"A superb piece of work: it seems to me by far the best job in the field that I have seen in our country. It is sound, thorough and thorough; it is amazingly broad in scope; it is intense in power."

\* \* \*

What may be a new economic rallying cry, "Scientific Capitalism," is offered by William Kay Wallace in his book *OUR OBSOLETE CONSTITUTION* published by John Day. Mr. Wallace says:

"Capitalism has outgrown the narrow individualist implications that still cluster about the term. It has become a social motive if we would but take into account the new aspects of industrialism. What is needed is that we recognize the true nature of the new economy of Scientific Capitalism which is essentially American."

"Scientific Capitalism is as important a social theory as Scientific Socialism, which is the name given by Karl Marx to his doctrine. What we see taking place in Russia today is a desperate effort to amalgamate Scientific Capitalism and its technique of efficiency with Scientific Socialism. Without it the Marxist theory is an empty formula neither vital nor viable."

"The constructive elements of the new society are to be looked for in what I have called Scientific Capitalism. Here we find the nucleus of the new industrialism as contained in the doctrine of efficiency. We in the United States have contributed to the world the practical framework of this doctrine."

\* \* \*

A striking challenge to education is made by Leal A. Headley, Professor of Education at Carleton College, Minnesota, in *MAKING THE MOST OF BOOKS*, just published by the American Library Association. "If in the primary school, or secondary school, or anywhere else," he says, "you have learned to read efficiently . . . colleges and universities—aside from the human contacts they offer—have little in store for you that you cannot get, or will not get, for yourself. The sad fact is," he continues, "that nearly all students enter college, and not a few leave college, without having mastered the art of reading."

Educators agree that intelligent reading is the bed rock of learning. To them, anything that will help students master this art is a step in the right direction.

Professor Headley's book is sure to arouse comment, perhaps criticism. Nevertheless it is an honest effort to give college students an insight into the significance and rewards of reading and to help them improve reading techniques. The chapters on comprehension, concentration, and rate of reading are exceedingly practical. Whether or not some of these techniques can be introduced successfully into high schools and the grades is an interesting topic for speculation.

\* \* \*

You are advised to read *The Depression-Demagogue at School* by Dr. Arthur B. Moehlman in the December issue of the *NEW OUTLOOK*. Dr. Moehlman is professor of school administration, University of Michigan.

The article discusses the present taxation system and public education, the need of understanding of the educational situation and of support of public schools if they are to be maintained and improved.

The first cumulated volume of *The Education Index*, just published, contains a complete index to the contents of *AMERICAN TEACHER* for the past three and a half years.

To locate immediately any articles you may have read in this periodical or to locate the best current literature of the educational world, you have only to consult *The Education Index* in your nearest library.

The function of *The Education Index* is to render the current literature of the educational field readily accessible—through indexing—to libraries, research departments and interested individuals. Though next-to-newest of the cooperative services of The H. W. Wilson Company, it has rapidly become one of the most popular.

*The Education Index* follows the school year and is published on the cumulative plan in nine monthly issues, from September through May, with a cloth-bound cumulated volume each June. Every third year a permanent bound cumulation is published, covering three years of indexing (the first permanent volume is unusually large and covers 3½ years).

\* \* \*

A lovely new Alice in Wonderland, one of the Jacket Library Series, has come to visit us with an introduction by Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Jacket Library Series of World Classics is sponsored by the National Home Library Foundation, a non-profit making, cultural organization.

The Jacket Library was created to place within the reach of everyone books of substance that have become the epics of generations of critical readers. It brings you the World's Best Books for only 15 cents a volume.

This is the first time that complete, unabridged editions of these Classic Books have been offered at so low a price. They are all printed in large, easy-to-read types, of uniform size (4⅜x6⅝ inches) and with unusually attractive bindings of colored Fabricoid.

New titles will be added to the Library at frequent intervals, and like those already numbered in the Jacket Library, will be complete and unabridged, and have the same attractive bindings.

The Foundation extends special prices to schools, colleges and institutions for library and instruction use.

The address is National Home Library Foundation, 1518 K Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.



## News from the Field

### New Locals

The American Federation of Teachers welcomes this month five new locals. Sheboygan, Wisc. Local 248, Charlotte, N. C., Local 249, Toledo, Ohio Local 250, Springfield, Ill., Local 251 and Milwaukee, Local 252.

Whenever a group of teachers comes to a realization that the American Federation of Labor is the only outstanding organization which has stood four-square in defense of education, yielding not one iota against the combined attacks of reactionaries taking advantage of economic conditions in an attempt to destroy the nation's schools and thus escape paying their proportionate share of taxes necessary to educate the children of America, and decides to forsake their enemies and join with their friends, it is a matter of rejoicing to the American Federation of Teachers, and should be, also, to all teachers and to all those interested in public education.

It means that we are one step nearer our goal, The Preservation of Public Education.

### Chicago Locals 2, 3, 199, 209, 224 and 237

The major problem for the Chicago teachers has been the effort to secure salaries. Teachers' salaries for the first half of June, 1932, were not paid until February 25, 1933, and then only in tax anticipation warrants. Salaries are now 6½ months in arrears and no payment has been made for any part of the first semester of 1932-33, although the second semester is already a month old. Innumerable meetings have been held with city and board of education officials, members of the Citizens' Committee, bankers, and officials of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation since September, 1932. The net result to date has been 6 weeks' payment in cash, two weeks' in October, two weeks' immediately preceding the elections in November, and two weeks' just before Christmas. In addition there has been 17 days' pay in tax warrants. Since December, 1929, Chicago teachers have had only 5 months' pay on time.

At the present time, the Citizens' Committee has undertaken the task of selling enough tax warrants to pay the remainder of the 1932 salaries, but so far their efforts have not been consummated with success.

On January 13, 1933, the Board of Education held public hearings on the budget and the entire day was spent in hearing a flood of citizens protest against cuts in the education system from all types of organizations and citizens' groups in the city.

Finally, on January 30, 1933, the 1933 budget was adopted. The 34.2% cut in the educational levy demanded by the Citizens' Committee was put into effect. This was accomplished by a 15% pay cut for all employees receiving salaries of over \$1000. However some slight gains were made: the 10 month school year was restored; pay for holidays (eliminated in 1932) was resumed; and the Board has agreed that the salary cut was an emer-

gency measure applicable for 1933 only, and that the basic salary schedule would not be permanently affected by this measure.

Various methods of payment other than tax warrants and cash have been discussed by the teacher organizations, but to date none has been adopted. Plans under discussion include coupon books issued by stores and companies for merchandise, self-liquidating currency, and the pledging of future pay checks for credit from local stores.

With the passage of the 1933 budget on January 30, budget activity came to a temporary lull.

Preceding the passage of the budget, a drive to educate the community to the value of the public schools was carried on. This is particularly necessary in Chicago because of the dictatorial powers which the Citizens' Committee on Public Expenditures has assumed over the budget-making processes of all local governments. The Committee set an arbitrary limit for the 1933 school budget which was 34.2% below the legal maximum. Great pressure was exerted through some of the newspapers and among certain groups of citizens for the elimination of the so-called "fads and frills" in the school system, and to bring about a drastic reduction in teachers' salaries. The local banks said they would lend money only to those governmental units whose budgets were approved by the Committee on Public Expenditures.

Every effort is being made to secure a loan from the R.F.C. The legislative committees have been active in cooperating with the American Federation of Teachers in support of the George Bill.

Local legislation has required our attention also. A bill now pending in the Illinois legislature prohibiting the employment of married women in public office constitutes a real menace to our tenure and has been vigorously opposed by all teachers.

### Chicago Women, Local 3

The two primary objectives of the Federation of Women High School Teachers all this year, in co-operation with all other Chicago teacher organizations, have been first, the securing of some form of payment for our salaries, and second, resistance to drastic curtailments in the 1933 budget.

Through the Federation of Women High School Teachers' Speakers' Bureau, the Women's Clubs were reached. Practically every unit of the Illinois Federation of Women's Clubs adopted resolutions protesting the proposed cuts in the educational fund. In many of the high schools, local committees were organized to contact the local clubs and keep them informed of developments. Miss Weil, President, and Miss Herrick, Vice-president, spoke before a number of downtown clubs including the Y.W.C.A., the Women's Bar Association and various smaller groups. There was already a strong bond of understanding between the Parent-Teacher organizations and the Federation of Women High School Teachers. Representatives of all P.T.A.'s in the city passed resolutions against the proposed cuts, and called on the Mayor and the members of the school board to give the schools a square deal in any economy measures proposed.

In connection with our program of educating the community, the Federation of Women High School Teachers has carried

on a radio program for almost two years. We are now putting on two programs a week over station WCFL, Saturdays at 7:30 P.M. and Wednesdays at 4:30 P.M.

On February 28, the city council election was held. Prior to this election, the Civics Committee of the Federation of Women High School Teachers interviewed the candidates in each of the fifty wards in the city on their attitude on school questions. Results of these interviews were tabulated and sent out to the schools to serve as a guide in voting.

The community has also been aroused to the need for supervision of school-board appointees. Many civic groups have sent in lists of citizens from which desirable members could be selected. At the present time, there are two appointments pending, and three other vacancies can be filled in May.

All in all, the Chicago scene furnishes plenty of need for constructive activity, and the Federation of Women High School Teachers has contributed its share.

DOROTHY WEIL, President.

### Washington Local 8

The Washington Teachers Union is continuing its aggressive campaign against reduction of salaries and of school activities. It is cooperating with federal employees and the teachers unions of the Canal Zone in a legislative program of protection of the interests of teachers, postal and other federal employees.

The Local has organized a plan of help for needy children. Money for clothes, food, carfare, etc., is being contributed generously by teachers and their friends.

### Washington Local 27

#### Teachers Spurn Plan to Measure Emotions

The Washington Elementary Teachers Union, Local 27, has objected to a proposed graphic rating scale submitted to the school administration by efficiency experts. The scale would rate teachers on "sincerity, emotional stability, sense of humor, wholesome outlook on life, and cultural background."

The Teachers Union, returning the challenge, suggests that all rating officers be required to qualify as expert psychiatrists.

—The Washington Times.

### Sacramento Local 31

The situation in Sacramento is duplicated all over the United States. Salary cuts, larger classes, lessening of sick leave and curtailment of adult education have a familiar echo throughout the land. In Sacramento, as elsewhere, the enemies of public education are doing their uttermost to cripple and hamstring it. I am inclined to think they will succeed as in Chicago and recently in New York. Perhaps this prophecy is unduly pessimistic.

We suffered a reduction of salary of 5% this year, perhaps small in comparison with cities of similar size. Owing to the vigorous campaign of a group of teachers who worked even throughout the summer this cut might have been avoided had not the announcement by the governor of a greater cut for state employees stampeded the local situation at the critical moment. It may be of interest to note that the state employees' reduction was to be of the familiar "voluntary" type. Just the other

day these reductions were returned to the employees because the fellows whose salaries are fixed in the constitution refused to contribute "voluntarily." But there is little hope of avoiding a legislative cut next year.

The state legislature convened in January. No one knows what may happen to education. Naturally the big taxpayers and public utilities want to slash indiscriminately. There is much talk of repealing entirely the teachers' tenure act which is practically repealed in rural areas. Even more significant is the agitation for the repeal of the constitutional amendment whereby a certain amount of support from state and county for education is mandatory. If this is repealed all the charges will be thrown upon real property which is already grossly overburdened. Education will revert to the status of twenty years ago.

All these things may easily occur. One need only point out the recent action of the New York legislature with respect to the mandatory salary schedules in New York City. It doesn't take long for action when the bankers want reductions. As long as we tolerate a condition of society in which a mere handful control it economically for their own enrichment, I see no hope for public education as a real instrument of social betterment. The last election definitely showed that few yet care for a significant change. Therefore, I am pessimistic with regard to education.

HERMAN LEADER, President.

### St. Paul Locals and The National Secretary

St. Paul locals had a busy week, beginning with Friday, February 24. With Mrs. Hanson in the city to give first-hand reports on conditions with which the public schools are confronted, the Joint Council of the Federations launched a campaign of education from which it looks to see positive results.

The response by the public to her story of the situation was gratifying. More than one school patron said, "This is the information we do not get elsewhere and exactly what we must have if we are to handle the problem." A group of three hundred citizens, invited to attend an open meeting conducted by the Joint Council, with Mrs. Hanson as the guest-speaker, was satisfied to leave after a two hour session only on the assurance that a follow-up meeting would take place in the near future at which there would be a full discussion of the local state of affairs.

In her week in St. Paul Mrs. Hanson spoke before a group representing parent-teacher organizations, auxiliaries to trade unions, club women, and the school board advisory to the Commissioner of Education; a joint meeting of Locals 28 and 43; the Ramsey County Farmer-Labor Women's club; and the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly. She was given a hearing by the City Council and invited to broadcast by the educational director of KSTP, the local station of the National Broadcasting Company. The opening meeting of the series was addressed by Mr. Irving C. Pearce, Commissioner of Education and a member of the City Council. Mr. William Mahoney, mayor of the city, a labor leader, a liberal of many years' standing, and a firm friend of the schools and the teachers, cooperated cordially in giving Mrs. Hanson opportunities to get her message before the people of St. Paul.

On Sunday evening the Federation of Women Teachers entertained in its club-rooms for the executive boards of the four Twin City locals. This was the one event of the week which might be termed slightly social in nature. Mrs. Hanson came to St. Paul with a definite purpose, to arouse the public to the inroads already made by the enemies of public education and the probable outcome if they are not checked; and the Sunday evening program was largely devoted to a discussion of means to that end. The teachers of the Twin Cities, as represented by the Federations, are fully aware that their present duty to the children is to keep public attention centered on the school situation. They know the task will not be easy but they have the courage to go forward.

On Saturday morning Mrs. Hanson spoke before the National Council of Education, meeting in Minneapolis. A guest speaker on the program of the council, press reports of her statement of the crisis in education were appreciative of her ability to handle her subject.

FLORENCE ROOD, Vice President, A. F. T.

### Memphis Local 52

The "Citizens' Committee" has recommended another pay cut for Memphis Teachers. The Board of Education has not yet acted—or rather has not made public whatever action it expects to take.

If all our teachers would stand together, we might make a dent in public opinion, but unfortunately there is an opposing faction. These "loyalists" are doing about as much harm as the Taxpayers' Association.

The George bill was endorsed and presented to P. T. A.'s and other organizations, some of which passed resolutions in favor of it.

### Minneapolis Local 59

Vol. 1, No. 1 of the Federation News published by Local 59 tells the story of the activities of that local.

The Local is co-operating with the Central Council of Teachers in an ambitious radio program the object of which is to inform the public of what is going on and what should be going on educationally. Miss Alice Henry of 59 is Publicity Chairman of the Central Council.

The Local is demanding that candidates for election to The Minneapolis Board of Education be pledged to support tenure and to utilize sufficient millage as provided under the charter for the efficient operation of the schools in all their branches.

No. 59 is conducting a vigorous membership campaign.

### Brookwood Local 189

Brookwood Local 189 held its annual Washington's Birthday Conference at the College, February 25-26. The topic of the Conference was WORKERS' EDUCATION ACTIVITIES DURING THE DEPRESSION.

The first day was given over to round table discussions by those actively engaged in workers' education, led by A. J. Muste, J. C. Kennedy, Ernestine Friedman, and David Saposs.

Dramatics under the direction of Josephine Colby were given in the evening.

The Conference was largely attended and much valuable material, which will be published later, was presented.

### San Francisco Local 61

The San Francisco Federation is in the midst of its biggest fight. There are some nineteen bills before the state legislature dealing with tenure, aiming to do away with it entirely, or to modify the present law so that it will be without value for the security of teachers. The Unions with Organized Labor are fighting almost a lone fight on this issue.

The Credit Union of Locals 61, 215, and 241 is organized and ready for business.

The radio programs are being continued and are well received.

### Milwaukee Locals

A joint meeting of all the teachers unions of Milwaukee County, Locals 79, 212, 235, 242, and 252, was held at the Milwaukee State Teachers College on March 8. Secretary Hanson spoke on *Education in a Changing World*.

The meeting was preceded by a dinner. Arrangements are being pushed for the convention of the American Federation of Teachers, June 26-30. The Wisconsin locals are planning to make this an outstanding convention.

### Portland Local 111

The Portland Teachers Union sends this hopeful note:

"Thus far we have come off very well at the legislature. The bill to repeal the law requiring that men and women teachers be paid the same salary for the same work went down to ignominious defeat. The attempt to repeal the tenure law was also unsuccessful although it gave us considerable concern. The Union is largely responsible for this happy outcome.

"An affiliated council consisting of representatives of all teachers organizations has been formed. The legislative representative for the Council is Kelley Loe, an active labor man and formerly associate editor of Labor Press. To his able management is due our legislative success.

"We have taken in a number of new members."

### Grand Forks, N. D., Local 205

The January meeting was addressed by Dean Bek of the University of North Dakota and Mr. Lillo of Larimore who presented the various measures that are being considered in the Legislature with a view to solving the State's educational problems.

In every way possible the Legislative Committee is using its influence through the local Trades and Labor Assembly in attempting to have sane and sensible educational measures placed on the statute books of North Dakota by the present Legislature. We have protested against bills affecting delinquent tax penalties which would tend to increase delinquency. We have supported measures introduced by the Grand Forks Labor Assembly seeking to raise the legal mill levy limit for schools, and also, their bill to reduce the 60% requirement to a majority in the case of carrying special elections for excess levies.

We have backed Labor's measure for a 30-hour week at 50 cents per hour for State road work.

Local 205 is carrying on and deserves the support of every teacher in Grand Forks.



## Yale and New Haven Local 204

Yale Local No. 204 of the American Federation of Teachers met with the New Haven Teachers Association at the Hotel Taft, New Haven, on January 28th. The guest of the afternoon was Professor John Dewey. Two hundred and forty-one sat down at the luncheon. Mrs. Hanson, secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of Teachers, welcomed Professor Dewey in the name of the national organization and told of the struggles which the teachers throughout the country were making against wage cuts and other attacks against their freedom. After a brilliant address by Dr. Dewey the teachers were invited to sign their names to slips if they were interested in the American Federation of Teachers. So many signed these slips that the Yale Local decided at their next meeting to change their name to Yale and New Haven Local.

All in all the meeting has been a great stimulus to activity for the Yale Local. Since the very day on which the meeting occurred the teachers of New Haven were asked to accept a second 10 per cent cut. It was timed very opportunely.

## Detroit Local 231

These are hectic days in Detroit I assure you. It needed something like the bank collapse to convince some people, especially teachers, of our economic insecurity. There were no checks for the teachers this month and many have not been able to cash the previous one. We hope now to make more headway with our teachers union.

The Detroit News made quite an attack on teachers getting into politics,—being political busy-bodies.

The "frills" in education are again up for their regular annual attack.

## Lawrence Local 244

The budget war is on in Lawrence, Mass., also. The teachers have not been paid since December 24, and it looks as though 20% waivers will be insisted on, as a prerequisite to loans on tax anticipation warrants by the New York and Boston bankers.

The Lawrence Federation is actively promoting organization not only in Lawrence but also in nearby cities.

## British Columbia Teachers Consider Affiliation with Labor

The High School Teachers Association of the Lower Mainland, B. C. declared in a resolution at a meeting in Vancouver in January that the British Columbia Teachers Federation, of which the Association is a part, should seek affiliation with Organized Labor.

This is assuredly a wise procedure. The sooner teachers recognize their friends and join them the sooner we may hope to get started on the road to recovery.

We shall welcome most heartily our Canadian fellow teachers into the American Federation of Teachers and the cooperation and fellowship of the labor movement.

## Chattanooga Local 246

The Chattanooga-Hamilton County Teachers Association Local 246 held a series of meetings on February 11, the regular meeting at the University of Chattanooga in the morning, attended by some 500 members, a luncheon at the Hotel Read of approximately 200 teachers, city and county officials, and officers and members of Chattanooga Trades and Labor Council, and the executive board of the Local in the evening. Secretary Hanson addressed each of these meetings on the crisis in education and the teachers' responsibility in this crisis, urging the teachers to decide who their friends are and to act accordingly. She said, "It is only by the union of those interested in safeguarding education which means organized teachers and organized labor, that we can hope to save our schools."

J. B. Brown presided as toastmaster at the luncheon and introduced for short talks B. R. Payne, president of Peabody College; Stanton E. Smith, president of Local 246; A. L. Rankin, county superintendent; Mrs. Anna B. Lacey, chairman of the county school board; Judge W. E. Wilkerson, new commissioner of education; W. C. Robinson, city superintendent; Paul J. Aymon, president of the Tennessee Federation of Labor; George Forbes; and R. M. Cooke, editor Chattanooga Labor World.

President and Mrs. Smith entertained Mrs. Hanson at dinner also.

## Well, Why Not?

In the welter of plans and proposals for "ending the depression" and "abolishing unemployment," there comes to The Survey from Bainbridge, Georgia, a plan that stands by itself for its brevity, its simplicity and its daring. It is put forward by two sisters, Mary and Mildred Hicks, one of them a teacher, the other a homemaker. We shall leave experts to point out why their plan could never be enacted into law and why it wouldn't work if it were. Its provisions are well-worth recording here. It is called "The Five-Day Plan", because Congress could make it a law in five days. It has three parts: a 100 percent tax on inheritances above \$100,000 to each dependent; a 100 percent tax on incomes above \$50,000; the use of these taxes for social insurance, public works and education. The sisters present their plan on a one-page leaflet, tens of thousands of which have been distributed since they drew up the scheme, late in 1931. On their leaflets, the Misses Hicks point out that what they propose is as brief in outline and swift in action as violent revolution—yet it is as peaceful and law-abiding as the Ten Commandments. They add, "We don't need a five-year production plan—we need a five-day distribution plan."

(The above extract can be found on page 692, The Survey, Dec. 15, 1932.)

## College Professor Dismissed

Professor George M'Lean, department of economics, Southwestern University, Memphis, Tenn. has received notice from Dr. C. E. Diehl, Southwestern's president, that his services will not be required next year.

Professor M'Lean is a member of the advisory committee of the Unemployed Citizens League, against which unsupported charges of Communism have been hurled. He stands firm upon his right to his beliefs, which he staunchly declares to be in "true democracy", "that educated men should practice brotherhood, religion, and good politics as well as talking it among themselves. Teachers should lead as well as exhort. My only purpose has been to aid the poor."

Professor M'Lean is carrying on his work undaunted as assistant professor of sociology and education at Southwestern.

## Who's Who in this Issue

Charles B. Stillman, Chicago Men Local 2, is a vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers and president of the Joint Conference of Principals and Teachers, Chicago.

Dr. John Dewey, New York Local 5, is America's foremost philosopher and educator, professor emeritus of philosophy, Columbia University, and author of many famous works on philosophy, psychology, and education.

E. E. Schwarztrauber, University of Wisconsin Local 223, is a vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers, instructor in Economics at the University of Wisconsin, and director of the Milwaukee Community Service League.

Senator Walter F. George is U. S. Senator from Georgia and the author of the George Bill (S.5263) which seeks to amend the R. F. C. Act so that states, municipalities, and school districts may borrow needed funds from the R. F. C. for the support of public schools.

Mark Starr, leader of Workers' Education movement in England, author, lecturer, now visiting America as student of social and economic conditions.

"Time is money; but, leisure is wealth."

—Tagore.

# American Federation of Teachers

506 South Wabash Avenue

CHICAGO, ILL.



## **The American Federation of Teachers**

desires to establish an intimate contact and an effective co-operation between the teachers and the other workers of the community.

## **The American Federation of Teachers**

desires to co-operate with all civic organizations for improved civic life.

Groups of seven or more public school teachers are invited to affiliate with this National Organization of Classroom Teachers, for mutual assistance, improved professional standards and the democratization of the schools.

## **Our Slogan Is:**

***Democracy in Education:      Education for Democracy***

## **THE AMERICAN TEACHER**

is published bi-monthly by **The American Federation of Teachers.**  
Membership dues carry subscription to the magazine. To all others the  
subscription price is \$1.00 per year, 25 cents per copy.